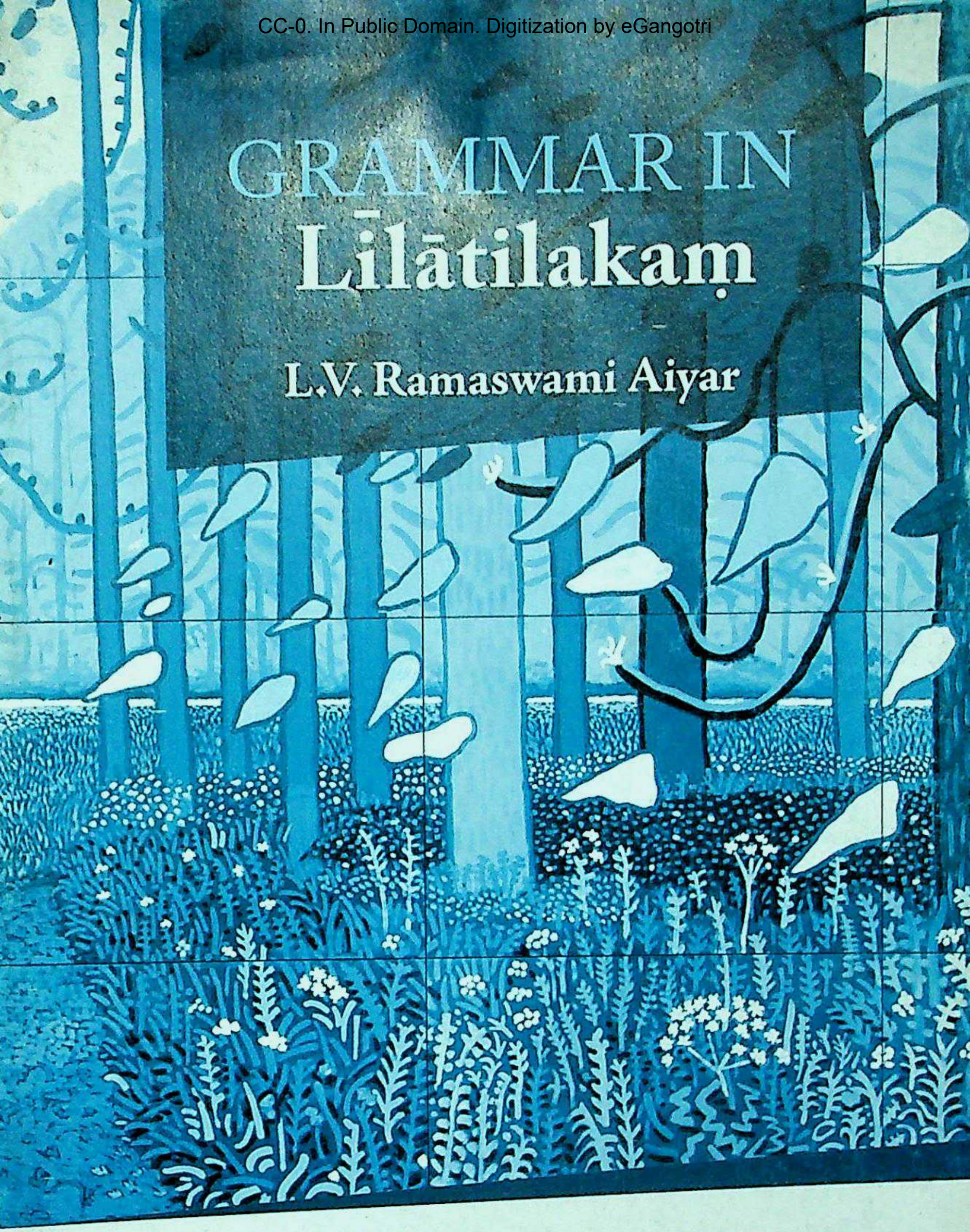
CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri



GRAMMAR IN Līlātilakaṃ

L.V. Ramaswami Aiyar

Revised Edition

Dr. Soumya Baby

ലീലാതിലകപഠനങ്ങൾ

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

GRAMMAR IN līlātilakam̥

ലീലാതിലക പഠനങ്ങൾ

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

Grammar in līlātilakaṃ
(English With Malayalam Transliteration)

By

L.V Ramaswami Aiyar

ലീലാതിലക പഠനങ്ങൾ

Revised Edition By Dr. Saumya Baby
Cover Design:
Godfrey Das

First Published : 2014

Published By:
Joe Joseph
Director
Department of Publications,
University of Kerala
Thiruvananthapuram - 695 034

Printing
Kerala University Press

Price - Rs. 65

KUDP 247 - GB M 18 EDI - 14 - 36 - 1

ISBN - 978 - 81 - 930368 - 7 - 7

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

GRAMMAR IN līlātilakaṃ

By L.V Ramaswami Aiyar

ലീലാതിലക പഠനങ്ങൾ

Revised Edition

Dr. Saumya Baby

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

എൽ. വി. രാമസ്വാമി അയ്യർ

(1895–1948)

എൽ. വി. വിശ്വനാഥ അയ്യരുടെ മകനായി 1895 ഒക്ടോബർ 25 നാണ് എൽ. വി. രാമസ്വാമി അയ്യരുടെ ജനനം. എൽ. വി. ആർ. എന്ന ചുരുക്കപ്പേരിലാണ് ഇദ്ദേഹം അറിയപ്പെട്ടിരുന്നത്. എസ്. എസ്. എൽ. സി ഫസ്റ്റ്ക്ലാസിൽ പാസായ എൽ. വി. ആർ സ്റ്റേറ്റ് സ്കോളർഷിപ്പോടെ എറണാകുളം മഹാരാജാസ് കോളേജിൽ ഇൻർമീഡിയറ്റിന് ചേർന്നു. ഒന്നാം ക്ലാസോടെ തന്നെ ഇൻർമീഡിയറ്റും പാസായ ശേഷം 1914ൽ മദ്രാസ് പ്രസിഡൻസി കോളേജിൽനിന്നും ബി.എ ജിയോളജി നേടി. അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ എം. എ ബിരുദം ഇംഗ്ലീഷ് ഭാഷയിലും സാഹിത്യത്തിലുമായിരുന്നു. പിന്നീട് 1922 നവംബർ 22 ന് എറണാകുളം മഹാരാജാസ് കോളേജിലെ ഇംഗ്ലീഷ് വിഭാഗത്തിൽ അസിസ്റ്റന്റ് പ്രൊഫസറായി എൽ. വി. ആർ ജോലിയിൽ പ്രവേശിച്ചു. 25 വർഷത്തെ അദ്ധ്യാപക ജോലിക്ക് ശേഷം 1947 ഡിസംബർ അദ്ദേഹം അവധിയിൽ പ്രവേശിക്കുകയും 1948 ജനുവരി 31 ന് തൃശൂരിൽവച്ച് മരണമടയുകയും ചെയ്തു.

ചുരുങ്ങിയ കാലത്തെ ജീവിതത്തിനിടയിൽ മലയാള ഭാഷാശാസ്ത്രത്തിന് വിലമതിക്കാനാവാത്ത സംഭാവനകളാണ് എൽ. വി. ആർ നൽകിയത്. സ്വനവിജ്ഞാനം, സ്വനിമവിജ്ഞാനം, രൂപ വിജ്ഞാനം, രൂപിമപഠനം, നിരുക്തപഠനം, അർഥ-വാക്യ വിജ്ഞാനം എന്നിങ്ങനെ ഭാഷയെ താരതമ്യാത്മകമായും ചരിത്രാത്മകമായും അദ്ദേഹം പഠിച്ചു. നിരവധി വിദേശഭാഷകൾ എൽ. വി. ആറിന് അറിയാ മായിരുന്നു. ദേശീയവും അന്തർദ്ദേശീയവുമായ വിവിധ ജേർണലുകളിലായി നൂറ്റമ്പതിലധികം പഠനലേഖനങ്ങൾ പ്രസിദ്ധീ കരിച്ചു. മലയാള ഭാഷാപഠനത്തെ അന്താരാഷ്ട്ര നിലവാരത്തിലേക്ക് ഉയർത്താൻ അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ പഠനങ്ങൾ സഹായിച്ചു. 'എ ബ്രീഫ് അക്കൗണ്ട് ഓഫ് മലയാളം ഫൊണറ്റിക്സ്' (1925), 'ദി എവലൂഷൻ ഓഫ് മലയാളം മോർഫോളജി' (1936). 'ഗ്രാമർ ഇൻ ലീലാതിലകം' (1945) എന്നിവയാണ് അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ പുസ്തകങ്ങൾ.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

അവതാരിക

ആർഷഭാരതം വൈജ്ഞാനികവിഷയങ്ങളെ സംബന്ധിച്ചിട ത്തോളം അന്യാദൃശമായ സംഭാവനകൾ നല്കിയിട്ടുള്ളതും ശ്രേഷ്ഠ മായ ജ്ഞാനപാരമ്പര്യം പുലർത്തിയിട്ടുള്ളതുമായ ഭൂഖണ്ഡമാണ്. വൈദികകാലമാണ് സാംസ്കാരിക ചരിത്രത്തിന്റെ ഭൂമിക. വേദ ചതുഷ്ടയം അപൗരുഷേയമാണെന്നും വേദവ്യാസനാണ് വേദവിഭജനം നടത്തിയതെന്നും വിശ്വസിക്കപ്പെടുന്നു. ഋക്-യജു -സാമ- അഥർവ വേദങ്ങൾ ധനുർവേദാദി ഉപവേദങ്ങൾ, ബ്രാഹ്മണം, സംഹിത, ആരണ്യകം തുടങ്ങിയതെല്ലാം വൈദിക സാഹിത്യത്തിൽ പെടുന്നു. ജ്യോതിഷം, വ്യാകരണം, നിരുക്തം ശിക്ഷ, കല്പം. ഛന്ദസ്സ് എന്നിവയാണ് ആറു വേദാംഗങ്ങൾ. ഇവയെല്ലാം ധിഷണാപരവും അപഗ്രഥനാത്മകവുമായ വിജ്ഞാനാന്വേഷണനിഗമനങ്ങൾക്ക് ഉത്തമനിദർശനങ്ങളാണ്. ഇവയിൽ വ്യാകരണത്തിനു വൈദികമായ വേരുകൾ ഉണ്ട്. ഭാഷാ ശാസ്ത്രത്തിനും അത്രതന്നെ പ്രാചീനത കല്പിക്കണം.

വ്യാകരണത്തിൽ മുഖ്യമായും ഭാഷ, വാക്, വാണി എന്നീ മൂന്നുകാര്യങ്ങൾക്കാണ് പ്രസക്തി. ഭാഷ ശബ്ദസംവേദകവും ക്രിയാധാതുക്കളോടുകൂടിയതുമായ ഒരു മാധ്യമമാണ്. വാക്ക് ആശയ സംവേദകമായ ഉപാധിയാണ്. വാണി എന്നതുകൊണ്ട് ഉദ്ദേശിക്കുന്നത് ശ്രവണസുഖദമായ ആശയ സംക്രമണമാണ്, അത് സംഗീതാത്മ കമാണ് എന്നുപറയാം. Speech, Cognitive system, Constructivist system (ഭാഷണം, അവബോധ ഘടന, രൂപാധായക ഘടന) എന്നീ മൂന്ന് അംശങ്ങളെപ്പറ്റിയാണ് ഭാരതീയ ചിന്തകർ പര്യാലോചിച്ചത്. ഫോണെറ്റിക്സ് എന്ന് പറയുന്ന പ്രാതിശാഖ്യം, ശിക്ഷ, പാഠം (ധാതുപാഠം, ഗണപാഠം, ജട, ക്രമം, ഘനപാഠം, നിരുക്തം വ്യാകരണം തുടങ്ങിയ സംഗതികളെല്ലാം പൂർവികർ ചിന്തിച്ചു.

വ്യാകരണ വിഷയത്തിൽ മുനിത്രയം നല്കിയ സംഭാവന നിരുപമമാണ്. അഷ്ടാധ്യായി രചിച്ച പാണിനി (ബി. സി. 7-ാം നൂറ്റാണ്ട്), വാർത്തികകാരൻ കാത്യായനൻ (ബി. സി. ഒന്നാം നൂറ്റാണ്ട്), പതഞ്ജലി (മഹാഭാഷ്യത്താൽ സമ്പന്നമാക്കിയ മഹാമുനി-(ബി. സി.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

ഒന്നാം നൂറ്റാണ്ട്) എന്നിവരാണ് പ്രാതഃസ്മരണീയരായ പണ്ഡിതന്മാർ, ഭാഷാതത്വ ഗ്രഹണത്തിന് 'സിദ്ധിസോപാനം' എന്നാണ് പതഞ്ജലി മഹർഷി ശ്ലാഘിച്ചത്. പാണിനിയുടെ കാലം മുതൽ പതിനെട്ടാം നൂറ്റാണ്ടുവരെ ദീർഘമാണ് സംസ്കൃതവ്യാകരണ പണ്ഡിതന്മാരുടെ സംഭാവനാകാലം.

ആദ്യഘട്ടം വ്യാഖ്യാകാലമാണ്. ചന്ദ്രഹോമി, വാമനൻ, (കാശികാ, ജിനേന്ദ്രബുദ്ധി, (കാശികാവൃത്തി, വിവരണം, പഞ്ജിക), ഹരദത്തൻ (പദമഞ്ജരി) പുരുഷോത്തമദേവൻ (ഭാഷാവൃത്തി മഹാഭാഷ്യഭാഷ്യം-878 എ. ഡി.) ഭർതൃഹരി (എ. ഡി. 5-ാം ശതകം - വാക്യപദീയം എന്ന ഭാഷാദർശനപരമായ ഗ്രന്ഥം), കയ്യടൻ (11-ാം ശതകം - പ്രദീപം), കുമാരിലഭട്ടൻ (അർത്ഥവാർത്തികം) തുടങ്ങിയവർ വ്യാഖ്യാകാലത്തെ പ്രമുഖശാസ്ത്രജ്ഞരാണ്.

അടുത്തഘട്ടത്തെ പ്രക്രിയാകാലം എന്നാണ് വിശേഷിപ്പിക്കുന്നത്. വിമലസരസ്വതി (13-ാം ശതകം രൂപമാല), രാമചന്ദ്രൻ (15-ാം ശതകം- പ്രക്രിയാ കൗമുദി എന്ന പ്രക്രിയാവ്യാഖ്യ), വിട്ഠലൻ (11-ാം ശതകം- പ്രസാദ:), ശേഷകൃഷ്ണ (16-ാം ശതകം- പ്രക്രിയാപ്രകാശം, സിദ്ധാന്തകൗമുദിക്ക് ശബ്ദരത്നം എന്ന വ്യാഖ്യാനം, (മേല്പത്തൂർ നാരായണ ഭട്ടതിരി (16-ാം ശതകം പ്രക്രിയാസർവസ്വം) ഭട്ടോജി ദീക്ഷിതർ (17-ാം ശതകം-അഷ്ടാധ്യായീ ഭാഷ്യം) വരദരാജൻ (മധ്യകൗമുദി, ലഘുകൗമുദി 18-ാം ശതകം), നാഗേശഭട്ടൻ (18-ാം ശതകം പരിഭാഷേന്ദു ശേഖരം, പ്രദീപഭാഷ്യം -ഉദ്യോതം) കൗണ്ടഭട്ടൻ (18-ാം ശതകം (18-ാം ശതകം-വ്യാകരണ ഭൂഷണസാരം) തുടങ്ങിയ ഭാഷാ ശാസ്ത്ര നിപുണ ന്മാരുടെ സംഭാവനകൾ വളരെ ശ്രദ്ധേയങ്ങളാണ്.

ഭാരതീയ വ്യാകരണശാസ്ത്രജ്ഞന്മാരിൽ കേരളീയനായ മേല്പത്തൂർ നാരായണഭട്ടതിരി അന്യഥാ പ്രശസ്തനാണെങ്കിലും പ്രക്രിയാസർവസ്വകാരൻ എന്ന നിലയ്ക്ക് നമുക്ക് പ്രത്യേകം സ്മരണീയനാണ്.

പാശ്ചാത്യരായ വെബർ (Weber) ബെയാർഡിൻ (Biardean), വിറ്റ്നി (Whitney) റെനോ (Renou) കീൽഹേൺ (Keilhern) ഗോൾഡ് സ്റ്റുക്കർ (Gold Sticker) , ഥിം (Thieme) സ്റ്റാൾ, (Stal), കാർഡൺ (Cardone) തുടങ്ങി പലരേയും ഭാരതീയ ഭാഷാശാസ്ത്രജ്ഞന്മാർ എന്ന നിലയ്ക്ക് പ്രത്യേകം സ്മരിക്കാം.

ആധുനിക ഭാഷാശാസ്ത്ര സിദ്ധാന്തങ്ങളുമായി സമന്വയിപ്പിച്ച് ഭാരതീയ ഭാഷാതത്ത്വങ്ങളെ പഠിയ്ക്കാൻ പലരും പരിശ്രമിച്ചു അക്കൂട്ടത്തിൽ ദക്ഷിണേന്ത്യൻ ഭാഷകളുടെ പഠനത്തിൽ

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

നിഷ്ണാതനായിരുന്നു റോബർട്ട് കാൾഡ്വൽ (Robert Caldwelt-A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian and South Indian Family of Lanuguages-1856,1875, 1956) ഹെർമൻ ഗുണ്ടർട്ടിന്റെ മലയാള വ്യാകരണം (1865)വളരെയധികം ഉദ്ധരിയ്ക്കപ്പെടുന്ന ഗ്രന്ഥമാണ്. ബെഞ്ചമിൻ ബെയ്‌ലി, ഇ. ഡേയ്സ്, എഫ്. സ്പ്രിങ്, റവറന്റ് ജോർജ്ജ് മാത്തൻ എന്നിവരും ആദ്യ വ്യാകരണഗ്രന്ഥം രചിച്ച (കൊല്ലവർഷം 1051 വൈക്കത്ത് പാച്ചു മൂത്തത് കേരള പാണിനീയകാരനായ എ. ആർ. രാജരാജ വർമ്മ, വ്യാകരണമിത്രം രചിച്ച ശേഷഗിരിപ്രഭു, (1053) കേരള കൗമുദികാരനായ് കോവുണ്ണി നെടുങ്ങാടി, ഡോ. കെ ഗോദ വർമ്മ (കേരളഭാഷാ വിജ്ഞാനീയം) പ്രഫ. ഇളംകുളം കുഞ്ഞൻ പിള്ള, ആറ്റൂർ കൃഷ്ണ പിഷാരടി, ഡോ. എ. സി. ശേഖർ, പ്രഫ. സി. എൽ. ആന്റണി, ഡോ. കെ. എം. ജോർജ്ജ് തുടങ്ങി അനേകം പണ്ഡിതന്മാർ ഭാഷാ ശാസ്ത്ര മേഖലയിൽ ദീർഘകാലം പ്രവർത്തിക്കുകയും രചനകൾ നടത്തുകയും ചെയ്തിട്ടുണ്ട്.

സർവകലാശാലകളിൽ ഭാഷാശാസ്ത്ര വിഭാഗങ്ങൾ ആരംഭിച്ചതും ഡോ. വി. ഐ. സുബ്രഹ്മണ്യത്തിന്റെ നേതൃത്വത്തിൽ മലയാള ഭാഷാ സംബന്ധമായ പല പഠനങ്ങൾ തയ്യാറാക്കപ്പെട്ടതും പ്രത്യേകം പ്രസ്താവ്യമാണ്. സർവകലാശാലകളിലെ മലയാള വിഭാഗങ്ങളിലും (പ്രാചീനഗ്രന്ഥങ്ങളെയും ഗ്രന്ഥകാരന്മാരേയും ആശ്രയിച്ചുള്ള ഗവേഷണപ്രബന്ധ രചനകൾ നടന്നു. ഈ പശ്ചാത്തലത്തിലാണ് പ്രശസ്ത അധ്യാപകനും വ്യാകരണശാസ്ത്ര ജ്ഞനും ഗ്രന്ഥകാരനുമായ എൽ. വി. രാമസ്വാമിഅയ്യരുടെ പഠനങ്ങളുടെ പ്രസക്തി.

ആദ്യകാലവ്യാകരണ കർത്താക്കൾക്ക് അലഭ്യമായിരുന്ന ഒരു വിഖ്യാത ശാസ്ത്രഗ്രന്ഥമാണ് അജ്ഞാതകർതൃകവും മണിപ്രവാള ലക്ഷണ ഗ്രന്ഥവുമായ ലീലാതിലകം. പതിനാലാം നൂറ്റാണ്ടിൽ വിരചിതമായ പ്രസ്തുത ഗ്രന്ഥം മഹാകവി കൊടുങ്ങല്ലൂർ കുഞ്ഞിക്കുട്ടൻ തമ്പുരാന് കൊല്ലവർഷം 1078-ൽ (1903) "കോട്ടയ്ക്കൽ പി. വി. കൃഷ്ണ വാരിയരുടെ ഗൃഹത്തിൽ നിന്നു കിട്ടിയ കോഹിനൂർ രത്നമാണ് ലീലാതിലകം" എന്ന് മഹാകവി ഉള്ളൂർ എസ്. പരമേശ്വര അയ്യർ കേരള സാഹിത്യ ചരിത്രത്തിൽ രേഖപ്പെടുത്തിയിട്ടുണ്ട്. 1040 സെപ്റ്റംബർ 22-ാം തീയതിയിലെ മാതൃഭൂമി ആഴ്ചപ്പതിപ്പിൽ പി. വി. കൃഷ്ണ വാരിയർ ലീലാതിലകത്തെപ്പറ്റി ഒരു ലേഖനം എഴുതി. 1902-ലാണ് അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ വിദ്യാർത്ഥി ജീവിതത്തിനിടയിൽ കോട്ടയ്ക്കൽ ഗ്രന്ഥപുരയിൽ നിന്ന് ലീലാതിലകത്തിന്റെ താളിയോല പകർപ്പ് ലഭിച്ചത്; ഗ്രന്ഥത്തെപ്പറ്റി പി. വി. കൃഷ്ണ വാരിയർ ഒരിയ്ക്കൽ കുഞ്ഞിക്കുട്ടൻ തമ്പുരാനോട് പറഞ്ഞപ്പോൾ തമ്പുരാൻ അതിന്റെ ഒരു പകർപ്പ്

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

ആവശ്യപ്പെട്ടു. പകർപ്പ് അയ്ക്കാൻ വൈകിയപ്പോൾ തമ്പുരാൻ എഴുതിയ കത്ത് ഇതാണ്-.

"വ്യവഹാരമാല, ലീലാ-
തിലകം മതംഗലീലയുടെ ഭാഷാ
വടിവോടിതു മൂന്നുമൊരു പുറ-
മെഴുതുക. വരി നിർത്തിയച്ചടി വിധത്തിൽ
ധൃതി കൂട്ടി മുഷിഞ്ഞു പാതി പത്രമാത്രം
മതി വെച്ചു പകർന്നെടുത്തു പോന്നാൻ
മതി നമ്മൾക്കിതിൽ വേണ്ടതെപ്പോഴും"

പകർപ്പെടുത്ത് അയയ്ക്കാൻ സാധിക്കായ്കയാൽ മൂലഗ്രന്ഥം തന്നെ പി. വി. തമ്പുരാന് അച്ചുകൊടുത്തു. തമ്പുരാൻ ചില ലീലാ തിലക ശ്ലോകങ്ങൾ രസികരഞ്ജിനിയിൽ പ്രസിദ്ധം ചെയ്തു. നാലഞ്ചു കൊല്ലം കഴിഞ്ഞിട്ടും* ഗ്രന്ഥം തിരികെ ലഭിക്കായ്കയാൽ വാരിയർ തമ്പുരാന് കത്തെഴുതി. ഇതിനകം ഗ്രന്ഥം കരസ്ഥമാക്കിയിരുന്ന അപ്പൻ തമ്പുരാനോടു ചോദിക്കാനായിരുന്നു കുഞ്ഞിക്കുട്ടൻതമ്പുരാന്റെ മറുപടി.

കൊല്ലവർഷം 1084 മീനമാസം മംഗളോദയം മാസികയിൽ പ്രസിദ്ധീകരണം ആരംഭിച്ച് 1085 കന്നിയിൽ 11-ാം ലക്കത്തോടുകൂടി ലീലാതിലകം ഖണ്ഡശ: പ്രസിദ്ധീകരിച്ച് തീർത്തിരുന്നു. ഗ്രന്ഥത്തിന്റെ ഉടമസ്ഥത തനിക്കാണെന്ന് പി. വി. കൃഷ്ണ വാരിയർ കരുതിയത്, ഈ പ്രസിദ്ധീകരണത്തോടെ മനഃക്ലേശകരമായി. കൊല്ലവർഷം 1092-ൽ തിരുവനന്തപുരത്ത് നിന്ന് ആറ്റൂർ കൃഷ്ണ പിഷാരടി അവതാരികയും മറ്റുംസഹിതം ലീലാതിലകം ഗ്രന്ഥരൂപത്തിൽ പ്രസിദ്ധീകരിച്ചു. 1087-ൽ അത് പരിഭാഷപ്പെടുത്തിവച്ചിരുന്നുവത്രെ. തിരുവനന്തപുരം കൊട്ടാരം ഗ്രന്ഥപുരയിൽ നിന്നും നീലേശ്വരം കോവിലകം ഗ്രന്ഥപുരയിൽ നിന്നുമോ ലീലാതിലകം ഗ്രന്ഥപകർപ്പുകൾ ലഭിച്ചിട്ടില്ലായെന്നും കോട്ടയ്ക്കൽ ഗ്രന്ഥപുരയിൽനിന്നു തനിക്കു ലഭിച്ച ഒരു പകർപ്പ് മാത്രമേ ഉള്ളു എന്നും അതാണ് കുഞ്ഞിക്കുട്ടൻ തമ്പുരാനും അപ്പൻ തമ്പുരാനും ആറ്റൂരും ഉള്ളൂരുമെല്ലാം ഉപയോഗപ്പെടുത്തിയതെന്നുമാണ് പി. വി. കൃഷ്ണ വാരിയർ മാതൃഭൂമിയിൽ രേഖപ്പെടുത്തിയത്.

തമിഴിന് തൊൽ കാപ്പിയംപോലെ തെലുങ്കിന് നടന ചിന്താമണി പോലെയും കർണ്ണാടകത്തിന് കർണ്ണാടകഭൂഷണം പോലെയും *കേരളഭാഷക്കുണ്ടായ ഒരു ഗ്രന്ഥം എന്നാണ് ആറ്റൂർ ലീലാതിലകത്തെ വിശേഷിപ്പിച്ചത് ലീലാതിലകത്തെപ്പറ്റി പറയുമ്പോൾ, കഴിഞ്ഞ

---

* കവികുലഗുരു പി. വി. കൃഷ്ണ വാരിയർ -പ്രൊഫ. സി. കെ. മൂസ്സത് വള്ളത്തോൾ വിദ്യാപീഠം പ്രസിദ്ധീകരണം 1990, പേജ് 329

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

നൂറ്റാണ്ടിൽ കേരളത്തിലെ പ്രശസ്തരായ പല വ്യക്തികൾ ഉൾപ്പെട്ട ഈ ചരിത്ര വസ്തുതകൾ കൂടി സ്മരിക്കത്തക്കവയാണ്. ലീലാതിലകത്തിന് പഠനീയമായ ഒരു സംശോധിത ഗ്രന്ഥപ്പതിപ്പ് പ്രസിദ്ധീകരിച്ച പ്രൊഫസർ ഇളംകുളം കുഞ്ഞൻ പിള്ളയും മറ്റൊരു വ്യാഖ്യാതാവായ ശൂരനാടു കുഞ്ഞൻപിള്ളയും പിൽക്കാല ഗവേഷകരും ഭാഷാസാഹിത്യ ഗവേഷണ രംഗത്തിനു നൽകിയ സംഭാവന ഓർമ്മിക്കാം. 'ലീലാതിലകം' ഭാഷാസാഹിത്യ ഗവേഷണ രംഗത്തെ ഒരു നാഴികകല്ലാണ്.

എൽ. വി. രാമസ്വാമി അയ്യരുടെ 'ദി എവല്യൂഷൻ ഓഫ് മലയാളം മോർഫോളജി' The Evolution of Malayalam Morphology) എന്ന ഗ്രന്ഥം 1936–ലാണ് കൊച്ചി ഗവണ്മെന്റ് പ്രസ്സിൽ അച്ചടിച്ച് തൃശൂർ രാമവർമ്മ റിസർച്ച് ഇൻസ്റ്റിറ്റ്യൂട്ട് കമ്മിറ്റി പ്രസിദ്ധീകരിച്ചത്. ഏതാനം മലയാള സാഹിത്യകൃതികളേയും ചരിത്രരേഖകളേയുമാണ് ഈ പഠനത്തിന് അവലംബിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളത്. ഡോ: ഹെർമൻ ഗുണ്ടർട്ടിന്റെ മലയാള വ്യാകരണം (1868), എ. ആർ. രാജരാജവർമ്മയുടെ കേരളപാണിനീയം (രണ്ടാം പതിപ്പ്) എന്നിവയെ പ്രത്യേകം പരാമർശിക്കുന്നു. ഗുണ്ടർട്ടിന് ഉണ്ണുനീലിസന്ദേശം, ലീലാതിലകം, നിരണം കൃതികൾ തുടങ്ങിയ മുഖ്യകൃതികൾ പലതും ശാസനാദികളും അലഭ്യമായിരുന്നത്കൊണ്ടു സംഭവിച്ച പരിമിതിയും സൂചിപ്പിക്കുന്നു എങ്കിലും ഗുണ്ടർട്ടിന്റെ സേവനത്തെ ശ്ലാഘിക്കുന്നുണ്ട്. താൻ ചരിത്രപരമായ ഒരു പശ്ചാത്തലത്തിലാണ് ഭാഷയിലെ വാക്യഘടനയെപ്പറ്റി ചർച്ചചെയ്യുന്നതെന്ന് രാമസ്വാമി അയ്യർ എടുത്തുപറയുന്നു. താരതമ്യാത്മകമായ വ്യാകരണപഠനത്തിന്റെ പ്രാധാന്യത്തെപ്പറ്റി തികഞ്ഞ അവബോധത്തോടെയാണു അദ്ദേഹം ഗ്രന്ഥരചന നിർവഹിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളത്. ഈ പഠനം മലയാളം വിദ്യാർത്ഥികൾക്ക് മാത്രമല്ല തല്പരരായ എല്ലാ ഭാരതീയ ഗവേഷകർക്കും (Wider Circle of Indianist) പ്രയോജനപ്പെടുമെന്ന പ്രത്യാശ അദ്ദേഹം പ്രകടമാക്കുന്നുമുണ്ട്. സമുചിതമായ ഉദാഹരണങ്ങളും ഉദ്ധരണികളും വേണ്ടത്ര ഉൾപ്പെടുത്തി ഏഴ് അധ്യായങ്ങളിലായി (155 പേജിലായി) ആമുഖപഠനം അനുബന്ധം തുടങ്ങിയവയോടുകൂടി തയ്യാറാക്കിയ ഈ ഗ്രന്ഥം ശ്രദ്ധാലുവായ ഭാഷാശാസ്ത്രജ്ഞന്റെ പ്രമാണികമായ ഒരു പഠനമാണ്.

ഈ ശാസ്ത്ര നിഷ്കർഷ എൽ. വി. ആറിന്റെ രചനകളുടെ പൊതുസ്വഭാവമാണ്. എന്നു പറയാൻ 'ഗ്രാമർ ഇൻ ലീലാ തിലകം' (ലീലാതിലകത്തിലെ വ്യകരണം 1945) എന്ന പ്രൗഢപ്രബന്ധവും സാക്ഷ്യം വഹിക്കുന്നു. 'മലയാളം ഫോണെറ്റിക്സ് മലയാളം ശബ്ദഘടന 1925) എന്ന പ്രഥമ ഗ്രന്ഥവും ഈ ശാസ്ത്രാവബോധ

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

ത്തേയും ഭാഷാവൈദഗ്ധ്യത്തേയും തെളിയിക്കുന്നതാണ് പതിനാലാം നൂറ്റാണ്ട് ആയപ്പോഴേക്കും മലയാള ഭാഷക്കു കൈവന്ന ആരോഗ്യ പ്രദമായ അവസ്ഥയിൽ യൗവത, സർഗ്ഗാത്മക ശക്തി, രചനാപരമായ പ്രേരകത്വം തുടങ്ങിയവയെല്ലാം സ്പഷ്ടമയി . ആ പശ്ചാത്തലത്തിൽ ലീലാതിലകത്തിന് സുപ്രധാനമായ ഒരു സ്ഥാനമാണുള്ളത്.

ലീലാതിലകത്തിലെ ആദ്യ മൂന്ന് ശില്പങ്ങളിലാണ് വ്യാകര ണാംശം പ്രതിപാദിതമാകുന്നത്. മലയാളഭാഷാ ചരിത്രവിദ്യാർത്ഥിക്ക് ഭാഷയുടെ വളർച്ചയിലെ ഭൂതകാലസ്വഭാവവും പിൽക്കാല പരിണാ മങ്ങളും ഗ്രഹിക്കുന്നതിന് ലീലാതിലകം ഏറ്റവും ഉപകരിക്കുന്ന സുപ്രധാനമായ നാഴികക്കല്ല് - ഒരു അനുകൂലസ്ഥാനം (Vantage Post) ആണെന്നാണ് എൽ. വി. ആർ. അഭിപ്രായപ്പെടുന്നത്. തമിഴിലെ തൊൽ കാപ്പിയം, സംസ്കൃതവ്യാകരണ ഗ്രന്ഥങ്ങൾ തുടങ്ങിയവയെല്ലാം നന്നായി പരിചയിച്ച ഗ്രന്ഥകാരൻ ആണ് ലീലാതിലകകാരൻ എന്നും കേരളഭാഷ സ്വതന്ത്രമാകുന്നതിന്റെ തെളിവ് അതു നൽകുന്നുവെന്നും എന്നാൽ തമിഴിനോടും സംസ്കൃതത്തോടും കേരളഭാഷയ്ക്കുള്ള ഉറ്റബന്ധം സ്പഷ്ടമാക്കുന്ന ഗ്രന്ഥമാണ് അത് എന്നു സാഹിത്യ ത്തിന്റെയും ഭാഷയുടെയും വികാസചരിത്രത്തിൽ ലീലാതിലകം സുപ്രധാന സ്ഥാനം അർഹിക്കുന്നുവെന്നും ഗ്രന്ഥകാരൻ സ്പഷ്ട മാക്കുന്നുണ്ട്. അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ വാക്കുകൾ തന്നെ ഉദ്ധരിച്ചുപറഞ്ഞാൽ "The Relationship of Malayalam to the earlier stages of Tamil is congenital while the Relationship to Sanskrit is that of deeply devoted cela to a guru.

(തമിഴിന്റെ പ്രാചീന ഘട്ടങ്ങളോട് മലയാളത്തിനുള്ളബന്ധം സ്വഭാവപരമാണ്, സംസ്കൃതത്തോടുള്ള ബന്ധമാകട്ടെ ഒരു ശിഷ്യന് ഗുരുവിനോടുള്ള അഗാധമായ ഭക്തി വിശ്വാസവുമാണ്.)

മലയാളത്തിന് തമിഴിനോടുള്ള ബന്ധം ലീലാതിലകത്തിൽ ചരിത്രപരമായി വിശദമാക്കുന്നില്ലെങ്കിലും സൂചിപ്പിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്. സംസ്കൃത രൂപം ശബ്ദങ്ങളെപ്പറ്റിയുള്ള സമകാലികമതങ്ങൾ ഒട്ടൊക്കെ അംഗീകരിക്കേണ്ടുന്ന ഭാഷയിലെ മൗലികാംശങ്ങളെ ന്യൂനമൂല്യ മായിക്കാണാൻ വിസമ്മതിക്കുകയും ചെയ്യുന്നു. ലീലാതിലകത്തിലെ ഭാഷാവ്യാകരണ പരാമർശങ്ങളെ സമഗ്രമായി ചർച്ചചെയ്യുന്നില്ല. അപൂർണ്ണമോ അപര്യാപ്തമോ ആയ നിരീക്ഷണമാണെങ്കിലും അവശ്യം പറയേണ്ടതെല്ലാം ചർച്ചക്കു വിഷയമാക്കിയിട്ടുണ്ട്. ആധുനിക ഭാഷാശാസ്ത്ര സമ്പ്രദായത്തിൽ, ലീലാതിലക വസ്തുതകളെ ഗ്രന്ഥ കാരൻ നിരീക്ഷിക്കുകയും മലയാളത്തിന്റെ പൂർവ്വാവസ്ഥയെപ്പറ്റി പഠിക്കാൻ ഉതകുന്ന വിഭവങ്ങളെ മൂല്യനിർണ്ണയഭാവേന പരാമർശി ക്കുകയും ചെയ്കയാണ് ഗ്രന്ഥകാരൻ.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

ആമുഖം, ഉപസംഹാരം, ആദ്യമൂന്നു ശില്പങ്ങളിലെ സംഗതികളുടെ വിശദമായ-ശാസ്ത്രീയമായ അപഗ്രഥനം ഗ്രന്ഥസൂചി എന്നിവയാണ് "ഗ്രാമർ ഇൻ ലീലാതിലകം" എന്ന പഠനത്തിന്റെ ഉള്ളടക്കം 1944 ജൂലൈ മാസത്തിലാണ് ലീലാതിലകം മൂലഗ്രന്ഥം ആദ്യമായി പ്രസിദ്ധീകൃതമായത്. 17 വർഷം കഴിഞ്ഞിട്ടാണ് എൽ. വി. ആർ ആമുഖം രചിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളത്. 1945-ൽ ആദ്യപ്രസിദ്ധീകരണമായ പ്രസ്തുത ഗ്രന്ഥത്തിന്റെ ദ്വിതീയ പ്രകാശനമാണ് ഡോ: സൗമ്യ ബേബിയുടെ ആമുഖപഠനത്തോടെ ഇപ്പോൾ നിർവഹിക്കപ്പെടുന്നത്.

ഗ്രന്ഥകാരൻ മുഖ്യമായി മൂന്ന് നിഗമനങ്ങളിൽ എത്തിച്ചേർന്നാണ് സ്വന്തം പഠനം സമാപിപ്പിക്കുന്നത്

1. പശ്ചിമതീരഭാഷയുടെ സ്വാതന്ത്ര്യത്തിന് നൽകുന്ന അംഗീകാരം (Recognition of the Independance of the west Coast speech
2. പാരമ്പര്യത്തോടുള്ള ആദരം (Respect for Tradition)
3. ഭാഷാപരമായ പ്രതിഭാസങ്ങളോടും വികാസരീതികളോടും അന്തർനിരീക്ഷണപരമായ സമീപനം (Insight into Lingustic Phenomena and Processes

ഉപസംഹാരാധ്യായത്തിൽ ഇതേപ്പറ്റിയെല്ലാം വിവരിക്കുന്നുണ്ട്. തുടർന്ന് അടിക്കുറിപ്പുകളുടെ വിശദീകരണവുമുണ്ട്.

എൽ. വി. രാമസ്വാമി അയ്യർ പണ്ഡിതനായ ഭാഷാശാസ്ത്രജ്ഞനും അദ്ധ്യാപകനുമായിരുന്നു. അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ സനിഷ്ക്കർഷമായ ഈ ലീലതിലകവ്യാകരണപഠനം നിശ്ചയമായും ഭാഷാവിദ്യാർത്ഥികൾക്കും ഗവേഷകർക്കും വളരെ ഉപകരിക്കും. അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ അഭിമതങ്ങളെപ്പറ്റിയൊന്നും ഇവിടെ ചർച്ചചെയ്യുന്നതിന് പ്രസക്തി ഉണ്ടെന്ന് തോന്നുന്നില്ല. ഗവേഷകർക്കെല്ലാം പഠനവിഷയമാക്കേണ്ട അനേകം സംഗതികൾ വിദഗ്ധമായി അദ്ദേഹം ചൂണ്ടിക്കാണിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ട്. മലയാളത്തിന്റെ പ്രാചീനതയെപ്പറ്റി വളരെയധികം സംവാദങ്ങൾ നടന്നുകഴിഞ്ഞിരിക്കുന്നു. പൗരാണികമാണ് എന്ന് ഔദ്യോഗികാംഗീകാരം ലഭിച്ചതിൽ ഭാഷാപ്രേമികൾ സന്തോഷിച്ചിരിക്കുന്ന കാലവുമാണിത്. ഈ സന്ദർഭത്തിൽ ഏതൊരു ഭാഷാഗവേഷകനും മാതൃകയാക്കാവുന്ന ഒരു പഠനോചിത ഗ്രന്ഥമാണ് എൽ. വി രാമസ്വാമി അയ്യരുടെ 'ഗ്രാമർ ഇൻ ലീലാതിലകം'. ഇത് കേരള സർവകലാശാല പ്രസിദ്ധീകരണ വിഭാഗം പുനഃപ്രസിദ്ധീകരിക്കുന്നു എന്നത് തികച്ചും സ്വാഗതാർഹമായ ഒരു സംഗതിയാണ്.

ഡോ: വി. എസ്. ശർമ്മ

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

Contents

Introduction	15
Preface	19
śilpa -I	22
śilpa -II	46
śilpa - III	83
Conclusion	105
Foot note	111

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

INTRODUCTION

Malayalam language study deviated from the conventional grammar based method to the modern linguistic path in the early decades of the 20th century. L.V Ramaswamy Aiyar, (1895-1948) the great linguistic scholar introduced the upcoming contemporary linguistic trends of the west in Malayalam and thus paved the way for modern language study. He modernized and moulded Malayalam linguistics by his 'special' approach towards the different spheres of language. Thus L.V. R was successful in securing a significant position for Malayalam and Dravidian linguistics in the area of international language study. He published three books and about 200 articles in Malayalam and Dravidian languages from India and abroad. 'A Brief Account of Malayalam Phonetics'(1925), 'The Evolution of Malayalam Morphology'(1936)and 'Grammar In līlātilakaṃ (1945) are his major works. He had done a critical as well as comparative study of the grammatical and literary works of major Dravidian languages and also has attempted a rigorous and truly scientific description and analysis of the non- literary languages. He is today, rightly recognized as the pioneer and leading authority of Malayalam Language in Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics (2006:77).

L.V.R focused on the systematic evaluation of historical logic, scientific concepts, rule formations and data collections instead of the hypothetical generalization method of conventional grammarians. Thus his work went on to become the archeotype of data collection and theory derivation for the modern researchers. He substantiates his theories with examples from ancient books. He consulted the vocabularies of both literary and non literary languages, meticulously studied the etymologies and arrived at valid conclusions.Thus he was able to compile the historical and comparative perspectives of modern linguistics.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

līlātilakaṃ (14th century) was the first literary work which proclaimed the distinct identity of Malayalam language. The Acharya (the author of līlātilakaṃ) contextually mentions the existence of Kerala bhāṣā in līlātilakaṃ which exemplifies maṇippiravāḷaṃ. līlātilakaṃ provides ample evidence that the regional variation of Kerala language strongly existed during that period. It is evident that the author of līlātilakaṃ has imbibed the nuances of the practices of language from his analysis of Malayalam Literature. K N Ezhuthachan observes that taking into consideration the particular time period, the Acharya deserves to be appreciated for his courage and his novel perspective. Hence the sociological and linguistic study of līlātilakaṃ is undoubtedly of significant importance for the academic world.

L.V.R was sensitive towards the fact that the identity of language is influenced by history, environment and the cultural practices of the speakers (Ancient Kerala Life, RVRI Bulletin Vol;13, 1946). His Grammar in līlātilakaṃ was first published by Saraswathy Printing and Publishers in 1945. A Xerox copy of the book can be found in Kerala Sahithya Academy. It is unavailable for the larger academic community and hence it has not gained recognition it deserves among researches of later years. He makes an effort to evaluate each literary work from the social– historical and comparative perspectives. The Acharya has included the structure of language, history of language, stylistics, metaphor and grammar in līlātilakaṃ. Hence līlātilakaṃ carries the evidentiary value mentioned by L.V.R "While primarily concerned with the manippravāla form, it also contains discussion of Malayalam linguistics features which though neither exhaustive nor in some points even adequate, have a unique evidentiary value in the study of the evolution of the Malayalam Language"(p:10).

L.V.R infers from his study of the 14th century work of the Acharya that Malayalam language had a distinct identity which was not over shadowed by Tamil and Sanskrit. This implies that līlātilakaṃ has great grammatical and Linguistic significance in highlighting the historical evolution of Malayalam Language. He conducted the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

phonological, morphological and syntax based study of the literary works prior to līlātilakaṃ and made significant inferences based on the data collected.

In Grammar in līlātilakaṃ, L.V.R makes a detailed study of the difference between Tamil and Malayalam maṇippiravāḷaṃ, the role of digbhāṣā ticaiccol, fundamental difference between the maṇippiravāḷa style of Tamil and that of Malayalam in nominal forms, the use of Tamil śuddhasaṃskṛtarūpa, occurrence of the Tamil words in Malayalam maṇippiravāḷa compositions, morphological and phonological difference between Malayalam and Tamil, discussion about kūntal, kuẕal and koṅka, a systematic discussion of the Indo-Aryan elements in Tamil-Malayalam and he cited the importance of examining vocalic and consonantal sandhi change in Malayalam for the student of Evolution of Malayalam language.

L.V. Ramaswami Aiyar has mentioned the difficulties he faced to publish the first book 'A Brief Account of Malayalam Phonetics' due to lack of transliterations. It was partially published in Culcutta and abroad with the help of Suneeti Kumar Chaterjee. Also he understands that the use of two languages in the book makes it difficult for the reader. The book which is inadequate technically, did not give him any satisfaction (See my L.V.R's contributions to the Malayalam Linguistics–A Critical Analysis). Similarly lack of transliteration with diacritical marks has been mentioned in the preface of Grammar in līlātilakaṃ. Some words have been retained in Malayalam while some have been used in English. Malayalam words have been retained, mainly because pronunciation is of greater importance in linguistic study of a language. This causes great difficulty to scholars of other languages and to foreign nationals.

Hence in the revised edition, transliterated words have been included in the foot note of each page, while original Malayalam words have been retained in the text. The academic community has not been able to sufficiently evaluate or discuss the works of L.V.R, who

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

dedicated his life to language research. This revised edition of Grammar in līlātilakaṃ is the initial step towards subsequent studies in this area. This book is also an attempt to unveil as to how the academicians of the later years have utilized or benefitted from L.V.R's thought. The works of L.V.R are highly relevant in the contemporary world of knowledge and rightly demand re-reading. Currently L.V.R has been included in the prescribed syllabus of B.A, M.A(Malayalam), M.Phil., M.A(Linguistics) and the UGC-NET for Lectureship. This can seen as the initial step towards recognizing this great scholar.

Dr. Saumya Baby
Asst. Professor
St.Teresa's College, Ernakulam

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

PREFACE

The Malayalam language had by about the fourteenth century not only struggled out of its swaddling - clothes, but developed into a healthy, blooming youth, full of initiative and creative vigour. kēraḷabhāṣā had already produced maṇipravaḷaṃ works like Unniyadicaritam, Unniyaccicaritam, uṇṇunīlisandēśaṃ and the numerous verses cited by līlātilakaṃ, a different type of compositions like Ramacaritam written in conformity to the older pattu tradition, prose works like Dutavakyam, and commentaries like Kautaliyam bhasa. The fifteenth century witnessed the efflorescence of the campu on the one side, and on the other the birth of Krsngatha and of the works of the Niranam Panikkars. The fourteenth century līlātilakaṃ, therefore, has a special significance, standing as it does between the earliest extant compositions of Malayalam and the fifteenth century works. The grammatical portion of this work forms, so to say, a vantage – post from which the student of the history of the Malayalam language can cast his eyes forwards and backwards into the surrounding terrain.

līlātilakaṃ is important in other ways too. It argues out, and continually stresses, the independence of the bhasha of Kerala, even while it envisages intimate affinities to Tamil. Again, the commentary occasionally displays a rare acumen in the analysis of linguistic phenomena and processes. Further the work shows a fairly close acquaintance with Tamil grammars, particularly tolkkāppiyaṃ besides a profound knowledge of the grammatical literature of Sanskrit (and of prakrit).

The relationship of Malayalam to the earlier stages of Tamil is congenital, while the relationship to Sanskrit is that of a deeply devoted cela to a guru. The Kinship to Tamil is impliedly admitted (though not elaborated on a historical basis) by līlātilakaṃ, As for the relationship of Sanskrit, this work refused to under estimate the

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

importance of the innumerable rūḍa elements of bhāṣā, even while it shared the popular contemporary view which looked upon Sanskrit as the ultimate source of all languages.

An exhaustive treatment of the grammar of Malayalam can of course, not be expected in a work, the chief object of which is the explanation of the lakṣaṇa of maṇipravaḷaṃ. Many essential points are, therefore. omitted or imperfectly handled, but this in no way detracts from the value of the linguistic material available in the work.

The present essay is not a mere summary. I have tried to interpret the data in terms of modern Linguistics and with reference to texts and inscriptions of contemporary and neighboring periods. Forms of sister speeches (Particularly Tamil), have been cited, both for elucidation and for comparison, I Have throughout aimed at the assessments of the value of the material of **līlātilakaṃ** for a study of the older stages of Malayalam.

The lack of transliterations with diacritical marks might perhaps narrow the appeal of my book, but will not (I venture to hope) diminish its usefulness to students of the Malayalam language.

July 1944 **L. V. RAMASWAMI**

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

GRAMMAR IN līlātilakaṃ

The discovery, a few decades ago, of līlātilakaṃ, the fourteenth century treatise on Malayalam rhetoric and grammar, was hailed by scholars as once for all removing the reproach that Malayalam possessed no indigenous grammars of its own, prior to the works published in the nineteenth century. Sentimental considerations apart, līlātilakaṃ is something in the nature of a treasure – trove to students of the evolution of early Malayalam. The Work, while primarily concerned with the maṇipravaḷa form, contains also discussions of Malayalam linguistic features which, through neither exhaustive nor in some points even adequate, have a unique evidentiary value in the study of the evolution of the Malayalam language.

The vyakhyas to the first and the last sutras on the first śilppa are important in as much as the former set explains, through a number of *obiter dicta*, the individuality of the Malayalam language as distinguished from Tamil, and comments upon some of the fundamental linguistics features marking of Malayalam from Tamil, while the latter defines the linguistic characteristics of the literary form known as pattu which formed part of the literary heritage of Kerala.

The second śilpa treats about (i) the nature and the contents of the vocabulary of Malayalam Manipravala, (ii) the phonetics of unique Dravidian sounds, and (iii) the morphology of Malayalam inflexions.

The third śilpa is exclusively devoted to the examination of the rules of vocalic and consonantal sandhi in external position in Malayalam.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

This extended meaning of the word would be evident from observations like the following in **līlātilakaṃ**.

"ദ്രമിഡത്വേന കേരളം അപി തമിഴാ ഇത്യസ്മാഭിരേവാസ്ഥിതം" (I,1)

"ററ" ഇത്യേതച്ച 'തമിഴ്' അക്ഷരത്വേന അഭ്യുപഗതമിതിബോദ്ധ്യം(II, 7)

"നനു 'ന' കാര: കഥം 'തമിഴ്' എവ ഭവതി?" (II, 7)

"ഹലാം അഷ്ടാദശഭേദു 'തമിഴ്' മാർഗേണൈവ പ്രതിപാദിതഃ (III,29)[1]

The use by **līlātilakaṃ**, of the term 'തമിഴ്'[2] for the Tamil Malayalam group necessitated the employment of distinctive terms for the speeches of the east and west coasts. **līlātilakaṃ** chose to call the former പാണ്ഡ്യഭാഷാ or ചോളഭാഷ or ചോളപാണ്ഡ്യ ഭാഷാ[3], apparently because at the time of **līlātilakaṃ**, the people of the ചോള and the പാണ്ഡ്യ[4] countries spoke and wrote more or less the same language, while the speech of Kerala (or the older ചേരദേശ[5]) had already developed unique perculiarities of its own. On the other hand, **līlātilakaṃ** called the language of the west coast കേരളഭാഷാ[6], when it had to be distinguished from other deshabhasa's , and ഭാഷ[7] when the west coast speech had to be marked off from Sanskrit.

śilpa I:1

" Through Sanskrit appears mingled with Tamil and with other languages, the സംജ്ഞാ "മണിപ്രവാളം"[8] is not given to any of these; this സംജ്ഞാ is in currency as a നിരൂഢലക്ഷണാ[9], only for the commingling of kēraḷabhāṣā and Sanskrit.

---

1. "dramiḍatvēna kēraḷaṃ api tamiẕā ityasmābhirēvāsthitaṃ" "ṟṟa ityētacca 'tamiẕ' akṣaratvēna abhyupagatamitibōddhyaṃ"
"nanu 'na' kāra: kathaṃ 'tamiẕ' ēva bhavati? "
"halāṃ aṣṭādaśabhēdā tamiẕ mārggēṇaiva pratipādita:"
2. tamiẕ
3. pāṇḍyabhāṣā, cōḷabhāṣā, cōḷa pāṇḍyabhāṣā
4. cōḷa and the pāṇḍya
5. cēradēśa
6. kēraḷabhāṣā
7. dēśabhāṣā and bhāṣā
8. sajñā maṇipravaḷaṃ
9. nirūḍhalakṣaṇā

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

While it is quite true to say that the സംജ്ഞാ "മണിപ്രവാള"[1] belongs *par excellence* to the Kerala type, in view of the extraordinary development which this *genre* has attained in the west coast, it cannot be said that the term itself was not known or current in Tamil from a fairly early period.

The eleventh century Tamil Grammar, വിരചോഴിയം[2], observers in the 40th sutra of അലങ്കാരപ്പടലം :- "ഇടൈയേ വടവെഴുത്തെയ്തിൽ വിരവിയൽ - ഈണ്ടെതുകൈ നടൈയേതുമിലാ മണിപ്പിരവാളം"[3]

"The composition in which non - Tamil Sanskrit letters (sounds) are introduced, is of the mixed type. This is മണിപ്രവാളം,[4] in which എതുകൈ[5] does not exist at all".

"വടവെഴുത്ത്"[6] here envisages non - Tamil Sanskrit saounds which were usually represented with 'ഗ്രന്ഥാക്ഷര'[7] symbols in Tamil. Further, the reference to the absence of the ഏതുകൈ in മണിപ്രവാള[8] compositions is significant.

For Tamil ചെയ്യുൾ[9], തൊൽകാപ്പിയനാർ[10] permitted only two types of Sanskrit loans: - Sanskrit words that could be represented unaltered in Tamil with Tamil symbols, and (ii) adaptations of Sanskrit words containing unique Sanskrit sounds, according to certain definite rules of change. Neither തൊൽകാപ്പിയനാർ[10] nor the Tamil grammatical tradition of later centuries contemplates the use in Tamil poetic composition (or in literature, generally speaking) of the non – Tamil sounds of Sanskrit.

But a large body or religious *prose* commentaries in which Sanskrit words containing non – Tamil sounds (represented with ഗ്രന്ഥാ

1. sañjñā maṇipravaḷaṃ
2. vīracōẕiyaṃ
3. aḷaṅkārappaṭalaṃ : "iṭaiyē vaṭaveẕutteytil viraviyal - īṇṭetukai
naṭaiyētumilā maṇippiravāḷaṃ"
4. maṇippiravāḷaṃ
5. etukai
6. vaṭaveẕutt
7. granthākṣara
8. etukai in maṇipravāḷa
9. ceyyuḷ
10. tolkkāppiyanār

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

ക്ഷര[1] symbols) were used, appeared to have cropped up in the Tamil country during the post – Ramanuja period after about the middle of the 12th century.

വീരചോഴിയം[2] probably refers to early Jaina specimens of similer മണിപ്രവാള[3] prose commentaries and religious treatises, through the സൂത്ര[4] mentioned above.

A few prominent Vaisnavite commentaries of the post – Ramanjua period are ആറായിരപ്പടി (by തിരുക്കുരുകൈപ്പിരാൻ പിള്ളാൻ) പന്നിരായിരപ്പടി (by മണവാളച്ചിയർ) ഈടുമുപ്പത്താറായിരം (by വടക്കു ത്തിരുവീതിപ്പിള്ളൈ) and the commentaries by പെരിയവാച്ചാൻ പിള്ളൈ.[5]

I give below one or two specimen passages from ആറായിരപ്പടി ഉരൈ[6] in which long Sanskrit compounds, adapted with Tamil endings, are common, and very rare, ശുദ്ധസംസ്കൃത[7] forms are also met with.

"അനാശ്രിതരെത്തനൈയേനും ഉത്കൃഷ്ടരേയാകിലും അവർ കളുടൈയ ജ്ഞാനങ്കളുക്കഗോചരനായ്, അനന്യ ഭക്തികളായിരുപ്പോർക്കു പ്പരമസുലഭനായ്, താദൃശഭക്തിഹീനനായിരുക്കച്ചെയ്തേ എനക്കയത്നസി ദ്ധഭോഗ്യനായ്..."

" നിത്യനിർദ്ദോഷനിരതിശയകല്യാണ ദിവ്യധാമത്തിറ് പണ്ണം പ്രേ മത്തൈ എൻപക്കലിലേ പണ്ണകൊണ്ട്, സർവ്വദിവ്യഭൂഷണായുധഭൂഷിത മായ് നിരതിശയസൌന്ദര്യാദികല്യാണഗുണവിശിഷ്ടമായ്..."[8]

While as a general rule, only Tamil endings are met with for Sanskrit forms, Sanskrit in flexional forms with Sanskrit endings are also rarely met with.

---

1. granthākṣara
2. vīracōẕiyaṃ
3. maṇiprāvāḷa
4. sūtra
5. āṟāyirappaṭi (by tirukkurukaippirān piḷḷān), pannīrāyirappaṭi (by maṇavāḷacciyar), īṭu muppattāṟāyiraṃ (by vaṭakkuttiruvītippiḷḷai) and the commentaries by periyavāccān piḷḷai
6. āṟāyirappaṭi urai
7. śuddhasaṃskṛta
8. "anāśritarettanaiyēnuṃ utkṛṣṭarēyākiluṃ avarkaḷuṭai ajñāṅkaḷukkagōcaranāy, ananyabhaktikaḷāyiruppōrkku pparamasulabhanāy, tādṛśabhaktihīnanāyirukkacceytē, enakkayatāsiddhabhōgyanāy...."
"nityanirddōṣaniratiśayakalyāṇadivyadhāmattiṟ paṇṇaṃ prēmattai enpakkalilē paṇṇakkoṇṭ, sarvvadivyabhūṣaṇāyudhabhūṣitamāy niratiśaya saundaryādikalyāṇa guṇaviśiṣṭamāy..."

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

സർവ്വാത്മനാ അസംഭാവിതമാന...

സ്വേനൈവ രൂപേണ..

ദിനേ ദിനേ...

...യേനകേനാപിപ്രകാരേണ സക്ഷാത് വാ പരമ്പരയാ വാ എന്നോടു സംബന്ധമുടൈയാർകളെല്ലാരും ഭഗവദേകഭോഗരാനാർകൾ.

അയത്നേന നാൻപെറ്റേൻ

നരനാരായണ സ്വരൂപേണ അവതരിത്തവനൈ...[1]

These nominal forms are usually third case forms and rarely seventh case ones, I have not been able to locate any second case or sixth case forms of Sanskrit in these texts. Nor have I come across conjugational forms of Sanskrit verbs (with Sanskrit endings) in these. In these respects, Tamil മണിപ്രവാള[2] sharply differs from Malayalam മണിപ്രവാള[2] which embodies Sanskrit forms with all kinds of Sanskrit endings.

Though thus the മണിപ്രവാള[2] style exists in certain Tamil prose compositions, the following fundamental differences between the മണിപ്രവാള[2] style of Tamil and that of Malayalam have to be noted:-

a) The മണിപ്രവാള[2] style appears in Tamil *only* in prose treatises or commentaries തൊൽകാപ്പിയനാർ's[3] definition of "ചെയ്യുൾ"[4] cannot apply to them in as much as they use tatsamas of all kinds of Sanskrit words in which the non - Tamil sounds are represented through ഗ്രന്ഥാക്ഷര[5] symbols- a practice which has not the sanction of തൊൽകാപ്പിയനാർ[3] or of Tamil grammatical tradition.

---

1. sarvvātmanā asambhāvitamāna...
 svēnaiva rūpēṇa...
 dinē dinē...
 ...yēnakēnāpi prakārēṇa sakṣātvā paranparayā vā ennōṭu sambandhamuṭaiyārkaḷellārum bhagavadēkabhōgarānārkaḷ.
 ayatnēna nān peṟṟēn
 naranārāyaṇasvarūpēṇa avatarittavanai...
2. maṇiprāvāḷa
3. tolkkāppiyanār
4. ceyyuḷ
5. granthākṣara

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

In Malayalam, however, the dominance of the influence of Sanskrit has been such that a system of 'ആര്യ എഴുത്ത്'[1] was evolved, and non Tamil Sanskrit sounds were freely used in Malayalam poetic and prose literature alike (whether the poetic compositions were composed in Sanskrit metres or in native metres).

Thus the മണിപ്രവാള[2] form was assimilated in Malayalam literature, while in Tamil it was held strictly outside Tamil "ചെയ്യുൾ"[3].

b) Not only were Sanskrit words containing non Tamil sounds freely used in Malayalam, but the presence of ശുദ്ധസംസ്കൃത[4] forms (i.e Sanskrit nominal forms with Sanskrit declensional endings and Sanskrit verbs with Sanskrit conjugational endings) was postulated as a *sine qua non* of the മണിപ്രവാള[2] type of composition.

For Tamil, through rare ശുദ്ധസംസ്കൃത[4] in flexional forms occur. they do not appear to have been intimately woven into the texture of മണിപ്രവാള[2] compositions.

Contrast, in this respect, Malayalam മണിപ്രവാള[2] works like ഉണ്ണുനീലി സന്ദേശം[5] (written in Sanskrit metres) in which passage with ശുദ്ധസംസ്കൃത[4] forms blended with native ones are so common, or even കണ്ണശ്ശരാമായണം[6] (written in native metres) in which also passages like the following are met with:

ശുകവാണീം മമ ഭാര്യാം കണ്ടീരോ...

...നിത്യസുഖംപെറ്റാൽ മറ്റുള്ള നിമേഷസുഖാഭാസേഷു നരാണം സക്തിവിടുമ്പോൽ...[7]

c) As a result of the assimilation of the മണിപ്രവാള[2] type of composition into Malayalam literature, other stylistic and rhetorical

---

1. ārya ez̲utt
2. maṇiprāvāḷa
3. ceyyuḷ
4. śuddhasaṃskṛta
5. uṇṇunīlisandēśaṃ
6 kaṇṇaśśarāmāyaṇaṃ
7. śukavāṇīṃ mama bhāryāṃ kaṇṭīrō..., ...nityasukhampeṟṟāl maṟṟuḷḷa nimēṣasukhābhāsēṣu narāṇāṃ saktiviṭunpōl...

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

features also come to be regarded as essentials of Malayalayam മ ണിപ്രവാള[1] compositions.

These differences explain the reason why the commentary on ലീലാതിലകം[2] makes the observation : "സാ പുനഃ കേരള ഭാഷാ സംസ്കൃതയോഗ ഏവ നിരൂഢ്യം വർത്തമാനം സമുപലഭ്യതേ"[3].

I.1

In the course of the discussion of the question of the possibility of the "occurrence of the Tamil words in Malayalam മണിപ്രവാള[1] compositions", the commentary adumbrates an argument which is later countered. The argument runs thus:- " The (words of the) language of a country appear mingled with those of neighboring languages. Hence, in the Tamil grammatical system laid down by Agastya and others, some among the twenty four neighboring speeches are described as ദി ഗ്ഭാഷാ[4] existing in Tamil. The rule is laid down thus : "ഇയറ ചൊ ററിരിചൊററി ചൈച്ചോൽ വടചൊരലെൻറനൈത്തേ ചെയ്യുളീട്ടച്ചൊല്ലേ[5]. Hence Tamil words might occur in Malayalam as ദിഗ്ഭാഷാ"[4].

This portion call for number of comments.

1) The സൂത്ര[6] cited here is the first സൂത്ര of എച്ചവിയൽ in ചൊല്ലതി കാരം of തൊൽകാപ്പിയം[7]. The സൂത്ര[6] provides for different types of words for the composition of ചെയ്യുൾ: ഇയറ്ചൊൽ[8] (native words with meanings unimpaired in different parts of Tamilnadu), തിരിചൊൽ[9] (the type in which one word may have different meanings, and the type in which the same meaning may be denoted by different words), തിചൈച്ചോൽ[9] (regional words), and വടചൊൽ [10](Indo-Aryan words).

---

1. maṇiprāvāḷa
2. līlātilakaṃ
3. "sā puna: kēraḷa bhāṣāsaṃskṛtayōga eva nirūḍhyaṃ varttamānā samupalabhyatē "
4. digbhāṣā
5. iyaṟa coṟṟiricoṟṟicaiccol vaṭacolenṟanaittē ceyyuḷīṭṭaccollē
6. sūtra
7. eccaviyal in collatikāraṃ of tolkkāppiyaṃ
8. ceyyuḷ inṟcol
9. tiricol
10. ticaiccol and vaṭacol

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

An examination of the തൊൽകാപ്പിയം[1] rules explaining these types (see below) would show that തിചൈച്ചൊൽ[2] meant 'dialectal words' and വടചൊൽ[3] borrowals of Indo - Aryan words.

The compound ദിഗ്ഭാഷാ[4] of the ലിലാതിലകം[5] commentary is intended to convey the idea of the Tamil term തിചൈച്ചൊൽ[2], but (as will be seen later) the expression ദിഗ്ഭാഷാ used by ലീലാതിലകം[5] conveys a much more comprehensive meaning than " dialectal words", and certainly includes the idea of (words of) neighboring speeches.

(2) In order to understand the reference in the ലീലാതിലകം[5] commentary to the speeches of the *twenty four* regions surrounding the Tamil country ("പരിതോദേശ ചതുർവിംശതി ഭാഷാസു")[6] a brief survey of the sutras of തൊൽകാപ്പിയം[1] and of the old Tamil commentaries is necessary.

The two relevant sutras of തൊൽകാപ്പിയം[1] are those defining ഇയറ് ചൊൽ[7] and തിചൈച്ചൊൽ.[2]

I translate them literally below: "Words which are in consonance with usage in ചെന്തമിഴ്[8] land and which maintain their meanings unimpaired (വഴാമൈ)[9] Belong to the ഇയറ്ചൊൽ[7] type". "Words which have their own significations in the twelve regions where ചെന്തമിഴ്[8] is spoken, constitute the തിചൈച്ചൊൽ[2] type".

Though തൊൽകാപ്പിയനാർ[10] makes neither here nor else where any distinction between ചെന്തമിഴ്[8] and കൊടുന്തമിഴ്[11] and through the meaning of ചെന്തമിഴ് ചേർന്ത[12] in the phrase "ചെന്തമിഴ് ചേർന്ത പന്നിരുനിലത്തു"[13] need not necessarily mean or imply "adjoining to or

---

1. tolkkāppiyaṃ
2. ticaiccol
3. vaṭacol
4. digbhāṣā
5. līlātilakaṃ
6. "paritō dēśa caturviṃśati bhāṣāsu"
7. iyaṟ col
8. centamiẕ
9. vaẕāmai
10. tolkkāppiyanār
11. koṭuntamiẕ
12. centamiẕ cērnta
13. "centamiẕ cērnta pannirunilatt "

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

separate from ചെന്തമിഴ്[1] territory", the commentarians ഇളമ്പൂരണർ (impliedly) and ചേനാവരൈയർ[2] (expressly) do make a distinction between ചെന്തമിഴ്[1] land and കൊടുന്തമിഴ്[3] tracts, demarcate the frontiers of the former, and enumerate a number of place - names as constituting the latter. തെയ്വച്ചിലൈയാർ[4], another commentarian, advances arguments to show that such a distinction between ചെന്തമിഴ് നാട് and കൊടുന്തമിഴ്നാട്[5] is not justified. He cites in support of his view the പായിരം of തോൽകാപ്പിയം[6] which mentions വേങ്കടം[7] as the northern boundary of തമിഴ്കൂറനല്ലുലകം and കുമരി[8] (regarded by some as a river which is said to have disappeared in the process of a pre - historic land - submergence) as the southern boundary.

തെയ്വച്ചിലൈയാർ[4] further says that those who would interpret ചെന്തമിഴ്ചേർന്ത[9] as outside ചെന്തമിഴ്[1] territory" would consider the പന്നിരുനിലം[10] to be the following (and not the twelve കൊടുന്തമിഴ്[3] tracts mentioned by, ഇളമ്പൂരണർ and ചേനാവരൈയർ)[2]:- പഴന്തീപം, കൊല്ലം, കൂപകം, ചിങ്കളം, കൊങ്കണം, തുളുവം, കുടകം, കുൻറകം, കുരുനടം, വടുക, തെലിങ്കം and കലിങ്കം[11].

Yet another commentarian, നച്ചിനാർക്കിനിയർ[12] distinguishes ചെന്തമിഴ് നാട് from കൊടുന്തമിഴ് നാട്[5] but envisages *twenty -four* tracts as the possible sources of തിചൈച്ചൊൽ[13] the twelve tracts of കൊടുന്തമിഴ് നാട്[14] (mentioned by ഇളമ്പൂരണർ and ചേനാവരൈയർ[2])

---

1. centamiẕ
2. iḷanpūraṇar and cēnāvaraiyar
3. koṭuntamiẕ
4. teyvaccilaiyār
5. centamiẕ nāṭ and koṭuntamiẕ nāṭ
6. pāyiraṃ of tolkkāppiyaṃ
7. vēṅkaṭaṃ
8. tamiẕ kūṟunallulakaṃ and kumari
9. "centamiẕ cērnta"
10. pannirunilaṃ
11. paẕantīpaṃ, kollaṃ, kūpakaṃ, ciṅkaḷaṃ, koṅkaṇaṃ, tuḷuvaṃ,kuṭakaṃ, kunṟakaṃ, karunaṭaṃ, vaṭukaṃ, teliṅkaṃ and kaliṅkaṃ
12. naccinārkkiniyar
13. ticaiccol
14. koṭuntamiẕ nāṭ

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

and the *other twelve* tracts (mentioned by തെയ്വച്ചിലൈയാർ[1] towards the end of his commentary on the sutra relating to തിചൈച്ചൊൽ[2]).

When the commentary on ലീലാതിലകം[3] speaks of *twenty - four* neighbouring speeches, it adverts to a view which is reflected in നച്ചിനാർക്കിനിയർ's[4] commentary.*1

3) A strictly rigorous interpretation of തൊൽകാപ്പിയനാർ[5] definitions of ഇയറ് ചൊൽ [6] and തിചൈച്ചൊൽ[2] shows that the term "തിചൈ ച്ചൊൽ"[2] meant " provincialism" or "dialectal word" and this meaning is more in fitting with the literal signification of തിചൈ(Sanskrit ദിശാ)[7].

ഇളമ്പൂരണർ and ചേനാവരൈയർ[8] through their demarcation of ചെന്തമിഴ് നാട് from കൊടുന്തമിഴ് നാട്[9] seems to have imported into the interpreation of the തൊൽകാപ്പിയം[10] rules a degree of linguistic separation which perhaps was true of their own days but not of the days of തൊൽകാപ്പിയനാർ[11].

നച്ചിനാർക്കിനിയർ[4] (when he speaks of twenty- four regions) and നന്നൂൽ[12] (with its reference to 12 regions of കൊടുന്തമിഴ്[13] land and the 17 other tracts) evidently gave a very wide meaning to the term തിചൈച്ചൊൽ[2] and included in it idea of "words of neighboring speeches". നച്ചിനാർക്കിനിയർ's[4] forced explanation of "ചെന്തമിഴ് ചേർന്ത പന്നിരുനിലത്തും"[14] as "ചെന്തമിഴ് നാട്ടൈച്ചുഴന്ത പന്നിരണ്ടൈയും പുറ ഞ്ചുഴ്ന്ത പന്നിരണ്ടുനിലത്തും"[15] is hardly loyal to the spirit of the തൊൽകാപ്പിയം[10] rule.

---

1. teyvaccilaiyār
2. ticaiccol
3. līlātilakaṃ
4. naccinārkkiniyar
5. tolkkāppiyanār
6. iyaṟ col
7. ticai (diśa)
8. iḷanpūraṇar and cēnāvaraiyar
9. centamiẕ nāṭ from koṭuntamiẕ nāṭ
10. tolkkāppiyaṃ
11. tolkkāppiyanār
12. nannūl
13. koṭuntamiẕ
14. "centamiẕ cērnta pannirunilattuṃ"
15. "centamiẕ nāṭṭaiccūẕanta panniraṇṭaiyuṃ puṟañcūẕnta panniraṇṭunilattuṃ" -

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

The reference to the *twenty - four* regions and the equation of ദിഗ്ഭാഷാ to പര്യന്തദേശഭാഷാ[1] show that the ലീലാതിലകം[2] commentary also used the term ദിഗ്ഭാഷാ[3] in a very wide sense. " (words of) neighbouring speeches".

I.1

The commentary expresses the opinion that the Kannada and Telugu peoples and their languages do not belong to the Dramida Group which latter (in its view) is constituted only of Tam. and Mal. This may have to be interpreted to - day as merely implying that the commentary recognized the closer relationship of Mal. to Tam. than to Tel. or to Kann. The commentary gives the following reasons :- (i) what is generated as the dramida veda is written in Tam. and it exclusively belong to that language. and (ii) the sound - system of Kann. and of Tel. is different from the phonetic stock of the Tam- Mal group. The first reason would not stand scrutiny. By dramida veda, the commentary means the 8th century Tam. work called തിരുവായ്മൊഴി of ശാന്തകോപ,[4] a Sanskrit metrical translation of which was styled ദ്രമിഡോപനിഷത് സംഗതി[5].

The argument that because the languages of the Kannadigas and Telugus are different from the language of ദ്രമിഡവേദ,[6] these peoples cannot be called ദ്രമിഡ[7] is of little value. The other argument relates to the non – use of ദ്രമിഡസംഘാത[8] in Kannada and in Telugu.

ദ്രമിഡസംഘാത is defined as "ദ്രമിഡമാതൃകാ, വർഗ്ഗമദ്ധ്യത്രയോഷ്മദി: ഋനു വർണ്ണ വിനർജ്ജനീയെശ്ചരഹിതാ, ദീർഘേണേവഹ്രസ ഭൂതേനാ പ്ലേകാരേണ ഓകാരേണ ച നാന്തോച്ചാരണേന ച സഹിതം"[9].

1. digbhāṣā to paryantadēśabhāṣā
2. līlātilakaṃ
3.. digbhāṣā
4. thiruvaymozhi of santhakopa
5. dramiḍōpaniṣatsaṅgati
6. dramiḍavēda
7. dramiḍa
8. dramiḍa saṅghāta
9. "dramiḍamātṛkā is defined as varggamaddhyatrayōṣmadi:ṛnu varṇṇavinanarjjanī yaiścarahitā, dīrghēṇēv ahrasvabhūtēnā playēkārēṇa ōkārēṇa ca nāntōccāraṇēna ca sahitaṃ"

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

This definition has to be completed by what the വൃത്തി[1] says in II 7, viz, that the five sounds "ന്റ്,റ്റ്, റ്, ഴ്"[2] and alveolar 'ന്'[3] are 'ദ്രമിഡ'[4] sounds not met with in Sanskrit.

The argument relating to the non – use of ദ്രമിഡസംഘാത്[5] in Kannada and in Telugu would, on analysis, be found to allude to be the following:- (i) the absence, in the period of Lilatilakam, in Kannada and in Telugu, of 'ഴ്'[2] and of the sound - groups ന്റ and റ്റ[6], and the absence in these speeches of what to–day would be called the phonemic difference between blade – dental ന്[3] and point – alveolar ന്[3] (ii) the presence in Kannada of the following sounds not met with in ദ്രമിഡ സംഘാത്[5]-സ് (as in Kannada സോല് - ബിസിലു, പസു)[7], ഹ് (as in ഹാലു and ഇന്തഹ)[8] and ഷ് (as in അഷ്ടു and ഇഷ്ടു)[9] (iii) the presence in Telugu of സ് (as in ചേസിന and in സുഡി)[10] (iv) the use in Kannada and in Telugu of voiced plosives in initial positions (as in Kannada ഗിളി, ഗില്ല്, ഗീര്, ബാളെ[11] etc.) and as in Telugu ഗോരു, ദിഗ്, ഗുറു, ഗീടു[12] etc). (v) the use in these speeches of symbols of voiced plosives in medial positions, and (vi) the use of simple aspirates, voiced aspirates and ശ്, ഷ്, സ് and ഹ്[13] for Sanskrit words (in contradistinction to the original ദ്രമിഡ[4] practice of representing and evaluating Sanskrit words, only with the symbols of ദ്രമിഡസംഘാത്[5]).

In so far as the reasoning relates to the transliteration of unique Sanskrit sounds, it need not necessarily mean linguistic differentiation; Malayalam itself possessed these in *tatsamas* in Arya എഴുത്ത്.[14]

---

1. vṛtti
2. nṟ, ṟṟ, ṟ, ẕ
3. na
4. dramiḍa
5. dramiḍa saṅghāta
6. ẕa **and of the sound groups** nṟ **and** ṟṟ
7. s as in Kannada (sōl, bisilu, pasi),
8. h (as in hālu and intaha),
9. ṣ(as in aṣṭa and iṣṭa),
10. s (as in cēsina and suḍi)
11. Kannada giḷi, gilla, gīr, bāḷe
12. Telugu gōru, dig, uṟū, gīṭu
13. ś, ṣ, s and h
14. eẕutt

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

The other points in the latter argument, however, do testify (when examined along with other features from the modern student's point of view) to the closer intimacy of Malayalam to Tamil than to Kannada or to Telugu.

I.1

Another portion of the vyakhya to I 1, brings out, through the citation of parallel instances, some of the phonological and morphological difference between Malayalam and Tamil.

1.The correspondence of Malayalam അ[1] in final positions, to Tamil ഐ[2] is alluded to through the illustrations: Malayalam കുതിര, Tamil കുതിരൈ, Malayalam കഴുത, Tamil കഴുതൈ. The instances: Malayalam ഉടവാൾ and Tamil ഉടൈവാൾ, Malayalam ഇടയൻ and Tamil ഇടൈയൻ[3] also refer to this correspondence in medial positions. In the earliest west coast inscriptions till the 10th century, forms with final ഐ[2] are quite usual, those with അ[1] in final positions being exceedingly rare. But in these same inscriptions, one meets with forms like the following in which a medial - ai is reduced to-അ[1] (as in colloquial Tamil).

അമച്ച (cf. Tamil അമൈച്ച്) TAS, III p. 166 (10th century).

വിളഞ്ച, അമഞ്ച, ഇരുപത്തഞ്ച് (TAS, I, P. 240)

തടുത്തുവച്ച് (cf Tamil വൈത്ത്)[4] (Ib., III, P.167, I. 7)

Instances in which-അ[1] appears in final position (corresponding to –ഐ[2] of Tamil) occur at a somewhat late stage., -പറയും[5], in a 12th century stone inscription (TAS, III, P.29) വെറ്റില, അടക്ക[6] in a 13th century stone inscription (TAS, VII page 66), വെറ്റില, എണ്ണ, ഇരട്ട[7] in a 12th century inscription (TAS p.50, 1.63, 64) വക, ഊരാണ്മ, കോയിമ്മ[8] in a 13th century document*3 (TAS. IV. P.87)

1. a
2. ai
3. Malayalam kutira, Tamil kutirai, Malayalam kaẕuta Tamil kaẕutai Malayalam uṭavāḷ Tamil uṭaivāḷ, Malayalam iṭayan Tamil iṭaiyan
4. amacca, Tamil amaicca , viḷañca, amañca, irupattañc, taṭuttuvacc, vaitt
5. paṟayuṃ
6. veṟṟila, aṭakka
7. veṟṟila, eṇṇa, iraṭṭa
8. vaka, ūrāṇma, kōyimma

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

It is possible that the change of ഐ to അ[1] started in medial position, in words like അമച്ച, വച്ച്[2] and then gradually spread to final position also. It has to be noted that, while the final *-a* of Malayalam words of this class does not have in modern phonation any special palatal tonality before pauses, the following facts, (cf, K.P p.88) indicate that this *-a* was originally palatal in value: the use of the front or palatal glide after- *a* in vocalic sandhi ; (as in കുതിരയുടെ[3] etc.) the evaluation of forms like കുതിരയ്ക്ക്[4] where the influence of the palatal *–a* makes itself felt in the frontalized pronunciation of *kk* (cf. north Malayalam കുതിരയ്ക്ക്[4] etc. in which *-a-* has changed even to a slightly centralized-e-); the difference in south Mal. Pronunciation between forms like മറയ്ക്ക് (to conceal) and മറക്ക്[5] (to forget), which clearly point to the palatal character of the final a of the base in the former (corresponding to Tamil മറൈക്ക്[6]), One might add that the use of ai beside a in early west coast inscriptions points to ai itself having been in "ancestor" of Malayalam *-a* in these words. It is significant in this connection that colloquial Tamil and both literary and colloquial Kannada use -e in corresponding words (കുദിരെ[7] for instance).

The opinion that Malayalam *– a* represents a stage anterior to that of Tamil *–ai* is unproved. The argument that the തൊൽകാപ്പിയം എഴുത്തതികാരം sutra "അകര ഇകരമൈകാരമാകും"[8] explains the etymological origin of Tamil *–ai* and that the "older stage with *-a"* is represented in Malayalam, not only involves too many unsupported postulates, but also runs counter to the admittedly palatal character of the tonality of Malayalam *–a* in the above type of instance.

2. While Malayalam shows- *a* corresponding to *-ai* in the above words, the accusative ending of Malayalam corresponding to the Tamil accusative termination -ai is -e as pointed out by Lilatilakam through

1. ai to a
2. amacca, vacc
3. kutirayuṭe
4. kutiraykk
5. maṟaikk - maṟakk
6. maṟaikk
7. kudire
8. tolkkāppiyaṃ - eẕuttadhikāraṃ: sutra "akara ikara maikāramākuṃ"

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

the illustrations: Mal. അവററെ , Tamil അവറൈറ[1], Mal. എന്നെ, Tamil എന്നൈ[2]. Colloquial Tamil has also *-e* for its accusative ending. Malayalam accusative–*e* appears represented in a 13th century inscription (TAS iv, p.87ff):- നമ്പിയെ (1.10) പേർകളെ(1.5) . ചെയ്‌വാർകളെ[3] (1. 13). The travancore inscriptions of the tenth and the eleventh centuries show - *ai* only.

3. The entire absence in Malayalam of the sound known as *aydam* in Tamil is envisaged through the instances: Malayalam അതു,Tamil അയ്ത് (That); Malayalam ഇതു, Tamil ഇയ്ത്.[4]

The *vyakhya* to II, 7, expressly points out this absence of the adyam in Malayalam ആയ്തവർണ്ണം കേരളഭാഷായാം നാസ്തി[5].

4. Malayalam പേർ*4.... Tamil പെയർ[6]. The Malayalam words shows vocalic contraction medially, as in ചെയൽ > ചേൽ[7]. It may be noted that colloquial Tamil has also പേർ[8].

5. Malayalam ഇതൾ Tamil ഇതഴ്[9]. For the change of ഴ് to ൾ[10] cf. Malayalam അപ്പോൾ from അപ്പോഴ്(തു)[11]. The use of ള for ഴ് in ഇതൾ[12] is characteristic of colloquial Tamil also.

6. Malayalam ഞാൻ[13] corresponding to old Tamil യാൻ[14] is another peculiarity mentioned by Lilatilakam in this context.

7. The difference between Tamil യാനൈ and Malayalam ആന[15]. pointed out by Lilatilakam involves the absence of യ(y)- in the

1. Malayalam avaṟṟe, Tamil avaṟṟai
2. Malayalam enne Tamil ennai
3. nanpiye,pērkaḷe, ceyvārkaḷe
4. Malayalam atu,Tamil ayitaṃ, itu, itāṃ
5. āyatavarṇṇaṃ kēraḷabhāṣāyāṃ nāsti
6. Malayalam pēr, Tamil peyar
7. ceyal - cēl
8. pēr
9. Malayalam itaḷ -Tamil itaẕ,
10. ẕa to ḷ
11. Malayalam appōḷ from appōẕ,
12. ḷ for ẕa in itaḷ
13. ñān
14. Tamil yān
15. Tamil yānai, Malayalam āna

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

Malayalam form. Cf. Tamil യാണ്ട് Malayalam ആണ്ട്[1]. Tamil യാട് Malayalam ആട്[2], Tamil യാമൈ Malayalam ആമ[3], Tamil യാറ് Malayalam ആറു[4].

ആണ്ട്[5] is very common in the earliest inscriptions beside യാണ്ട് cf. അയ്യാമാണ്ട്[6] in TAS. III, p. 166 etc. It may be noted that even in Tamil ആണ്ട്, ആനൈ[7] etc. occur in post Sangam texts.

8. The correspondence of Malayalam ങ്ങ്, ഞ്ഞ്, ന്ന് to Tamil ങ്ക്, ഞ്ച്, ന്ത്[8] Malayalama തേങ്ങാ, മാങ്ങാ, കഞ്ഞി, വന്നാൽ[9]. This nasalization appears to have started early in the evolution of Malayalam, as the inscriptional instances of the 9th and 10th centuries show.

ഉള്ളൊടുങ്ങ (TAS, III, p. 167)

തിങ്ങളാലും (ib, III, p. 172)

തങ്ങ(ൾ) (ib, III, p.181)

ആരാഞ്ഞ് (ib, II, p.82, 1. 47)

അമൈഞ്ഞാൻ (ib, II p. 43, 1. 3)

ചാന്നവർകളും[10] (ib, III, p. 167. 1 .5

Lilatilakam does not refer to similar changes affecting the Sanskrit groups ങ്ഗ്, ഞ്ജ്, ണ്ഡ്, ന്ദ്, മ്ബ്[11] in familiar Sanskrit words in Malayali evaluation which converts them respectively to ങ്ങ്, ഞ്ഞ്, ണ്ണ്, ന്ന് and മ്മ്.[12]. Early inscriptional instances are available for some of them:

ചങ്ങരൻ (TAS, III, p. 181. 1.5), ചിങ്ങഞായിററ് (ib, III, p. 55), ചേന്നൻ, ചന്നണമും (ib, I p. 289), കോവിന്നനും (ib, III,p. 177)[13]

1. Tamil yāṇṭ, Malayalam āṇṭ
2. Tamil yāṭ Malayalam āṭ
3. Tamil yāmai Malayalam āma
4. Tamil yāṟ Malayalam āṟu
5. āṇṭ
6. yāṇṭ cf. ayyāmāṇṭ
7. āṇt, ānai
8. Malayalam ṅṅ, ññ, nn to Tamil ṅk, ñc, nt
9. malayāḷaṃ tēṅṅā, māṅā, kaññi, vannān
10. uḷḷoṭuṅṅa, tiṅṅaḷālum̥, taṅṅaḷ, ārāññ, amaiññān, cārnnavarkaḷum̥
11. ṅg, ñj, ṇḍ, nd, mb
12. ṅṅ, ññ, ṇṇ, nn, mm
13. caṅṅaran, ciṅṅañāyiṟṟ, cēnnan, cannaṇamum̥, kōvinnanum̥

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

For details regarding nasal assimilation in Malayalam ,see my PMP, chapter III. Had the alveolar group -ന്റ്[1] changed into the blade nasal -ന്ന്[2] in the period ലീലാതിലകം[3]?

The · terms in which the commentary refers to the sound-group ന്റ്[1] while demonstrating the uniqueness of this and other Tamil - Malayalam sounds (in the commentary on II, 7) do not contemplate the change of ന്റ്[1] to the blade - dental ന്ന്[2]. The author's mind is well applied here to the problem of sound -differences. He refers to ന്റ്[1] as a unique Tamil - Malayalam non-Sanskritc sound: and he stresses that -ന്റ്[1] is different from -ന്ത്[4] just as -റ് is different from -ര്[5], -ഴ് is different from -ഷ്[6], and so.on. Is it possible that the author who had such as sublte ear for sound- differences would have failed to register the change of -ന്റ് to -ന്ന്[7], of indeed it had been accepted universally in Kerala at that time? It would be absurd to suppose that the author 'wrote' -ന്റ്[1] and 'evaluated ' it as -ന്ന്[2].

There are a few illustrations (with -ന്ന് from -ന്റ്[8]) in the printed text Mr. Attur Krishna Pisharodi and in a manuscript which I happened to examine myself, but in the absence of information regarding the date of the mss. no inference can safely be drawn from these few instances.

So far as rock inscriptions of the 9th to 14 [th] centuries are concerned, I have come across only one instance of -ന്ന് from ന്റ്[8]:-നാടു വാഴന്ന[9] (TAS, V, p. 174 ff, 12 the century), where വാഴന്ന[10] is a present relative participle (വാഴിന്ന[11]), as the context shows. Other instances are rare, and these occur in documents written on cadjan leaves or copper plates, the contemporeneity of which with the dates mentioned there in cannot be relied on.

1. nṟ
2. nn
3. līlātilakaṃ?
4. nt
5. ṟ is different from r
6. ḻ is different from ṣ
7. nṟ to nn
8. nn from nṟ
9. nāṭuvāḻanna
10. vāḻanna
11. vāḻinna

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

All this does not mean that the change may not have started much earlier (than the 14th century) in the colloquials and popular dialects, though learned men (like the author of the ലീലാതിലകം[1] commentary) may have conservatively stuck on to -ൻറ[2] (both in symbol and in sound - value). Indeed, such a perspective is suggested by the use, in mss. of this period, of the symbol -ൻറ for-ന്ന derived from -ന്ത്[3], and by the reference by Lilatilakam itself (II. 7) to the alternative evaluation in Kerala of -ന്ന് in ചൊന്നാൻ[4], as an alveolar group or as a dental one (see below).

9. The illustrations: Malayalam അതിനെ, ഇതിനെ[5] corresponding to Tamil അതനൈ, ഇതനൈ[6] refer to the use in Malayalam of the augment -ഇൻ[7]- corresponding to -അൻ[8]- of Tamil. According to TE, 177, the argument employed in the inflexions of Tamil അതു, ഇതു[9] (and, according to TE, the numeralrs also is -അൻ[8]- but in the later stages of Tamil, -ഇൻ[7]- was also used -അൻ[8]- appears to have been replaced (in Malayalam) by-ഇൻ[7]- from a very early period : അതിന്ക്കു, ഇതിനുക്കു, അതിന്ന്, ഒൻറിന്ന്, ഒൻറിനാൽ[10] (TAS, IV p. 76, 1.10).

10.The illustrations: Malayalam ആലിന്റെ (the genitive of ആൽ[11] "the Ficus tree"), Tamil ആലിനത്, മാവിന്റെ (the genitive of മാ or മാവ്[12] "Mango tree"), corresponding to Tamil മാവിനത്[13] refer to the unique genitive ending -ന്റെ[2]- of Malayalam. The juxtaposing by Lilatilakam of Malayalam ഇന്റെ and Tamil ഇനത്[13] should not mislead

1. līlātilakaṃ
2. nt
3. nt for nn derived from nd
4. connān
5. atine, itine
6. atanai, itanai
7. in
8. an
9. atu, itu
10. atinkk, itinukk, atinn, onṟinn, onṟināl
11. ālinṟe -āl
12. ālinat, māvinṟe, mā or māv
13. māvinat
14. Malayalam inṟ and Tamil inat

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

us into thinking that -ഇന്റെ[1] - of Malayalam was derived from ഇനതു[2]. As I have shown in my HAP, Malayalam ഇൻ-ഇ-ടെ < ഇൻ , ഉടെ < ഇൻ - ഉടയ[3]. The earliest use of this Malayalam genitive ഇന്റെ or ന്റെ[4] occurs (so far as I have been able to find out) in US among the textes and in a 14th century document among the inscriptions : ചിറ്റപ്പന്റെ, (US II, 15) തേൻമാവിന്റെ, പുണ്യത്തിന്റെ , തന്റെ[5] (TAS, iv p.149, 1, 9). The use of ഇൻ, ഇടെ or ൻ-ഇടെ[6] even where modern Malayalam employes -ന്റെ[7] continued till a very late period, and even to- day they are used in poetry for securing an "archaic atmosphere" or for prosodic purposes.

11. The absence in Malayalam of the locative post - position കൺ[8] is contemplated by the instances:

Malayalam മടത്തിൻ-മേൽ Tamil മാടത്തിൻ-കൺ[9]

തൊൽകാപ്പിയം, ചൊൽ[10] 81, refers to the seventh case കൺ[8] and the following sutra adverts to the different meanings in which the post - position കൺ[8] might a appear. Lilatilakam observes that കൺ[8] is absent in the west coast speeches.

12. Malayalam കനങ്കുഴയാളേ - Tamil കനങ്കുഴായ്[11] (O! woman with the heavy ear-rings!). The forms are vocative. In Tamil, the final ഐ of the compound കനങ്കുഴൈ[12] "women with heavy ear-rings" is changed to ആയ്[13] in the vocative, according to the തൊൽകാപ്പിയം rule : "ഐ ആയ് ആകും" as in നങ്കായ് (the vocative of നങ്കൈ[14]). This type of vocatives is conspicuous by its absence in Malayalam.

---

1. inr̲e
2. inat
3. in- i- ṭe < in, uṭe <in -uṭaya
4. inr̲e or nr̲e
5. cir̲r̲appanr̲e, tēnmāvinr̲e, puṇyatitanr̲e, tanr̲ei,
6. in - iṭe or n-iṭe 7. nr̲e
8. kaṇ
9. Malayalam : māṭattinmēl, Tamil : māṭattinkaṇ
10. tolkkāppiyam- col
11. Malayalam : kanaṅkuẕayāḷē Tamil : kanaṅkuẕāy
12. kanaṅkuẕai
13. āy
14. tolkkāppiyam rule "ai,āy,ākum" as in -nahkāy the vocative of naṅkai

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

13. Some of the difference between the verbforms of Malayalam and those to Tamil are indicated by Lilatilakam through the followings instances :-

(i) Malayalam ഉണ്ടാർ - Tamil ഉണ്ടനർ

„ നിന്നാർ - „ നിൻറനർ[1]

These illustrate the absence of the verbal ചാരിയൈ - അൻ[2] - in Malayalam. In Old Tamil, bothe ഉണ്ടനർ and ഉണ്ടാർ[3] types exitsted, in later stages of Tamil and in the modern colloquial the ഉണ്ടാർ[4] - type became popular.

(ii) Malayalam ഉണ്ണിൻേറാർ-Tamil ഉണ്ണാനിൻറനർ, ഉണ്ണിൻേറാർ[5] is the Old Malayalam present tense third person plural finite, Such forms with final ഓർ[6] for the finite occur numerously in Old Malayalam texts. The present tense ending-ഇൻറ്[7] - is directly 'in herited' by Malayalam from the parent stage. Cf. വാഴിൻറ[8] in a 9th century west coast inscription (TAS II . p.80).

Middle Tamil had, apart from the type of ഉൺകിൻേറാർ[9] (related to the Malayalam type), other types with the affixes ആനിൻറ്-, ആകിടന്ത്[10] - (bothe mentioned in വീരചോഴിയം[11] the former alone in നന്നൂൽ[12]). These types did not strike root in Malayalam. The *cliche* ചെല്ലാനിൻറ ആണ്ട്[13] found in west coast inscriptions and in some old texts contains this ending.

---

1. Malayalam uṇṭār Tamil uṇṭanar
" ninnār " ninṟanar
2. cāriyai -an
3. uṇṭanar and uṇṭār
4. uṇṭār
5. Malayalam : uṇṇinṟōr ,Tamil : uṇṇāninṟanar, uṇṇinṟōr
6. ōrô
7. inṟ
8. vāẕinṟa
9. uṇkinṟōr
10. āninṟ, ākiṭant
11. vīracōẕiyaṃ
12. nannūl
13. cellāninṟa āṇṭ

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

iii Malayalam ഉണ്മർ - Tamil ഉൺപർ[1]

Malayalam in its earliest stages (when it was struggling to free itself from its swaddling, clothes) does show ഉൺപർ, കാൺപതു്, എൺപതു്. cf. forms like കാൺപേൻ in കൌടിലീയം, ഭാഷാവ്യാഖ്യാനം[2] but by the period of ലീലാതിലകം[3], the use of forms with -മ്[4] appears to have become general for the future tens forms of ഉൺ,-കാൺ, എൻ- and തിൻ[5]-.

(iv) Malayalam വരുവർ-Tamil വരുവാർ[6].

The short vowel of the last syllable of Malayalam is contrasted with the corresponding long vowel of Tamil. Of course, Tamil has both വരുവാർ and വരുവർ[6] while Old Malayalam texts, whenever they use future finite forms with personal endings, have only the short vowel. This is true of old texts like കൌടലീയംഭാഷാ, ദൂതവാക്യം, and ഉണ്ണുനീലിസന്ദേശം[7]

(v) Malayalam കൊൾവർ - Tamil കൊണ്മർ[8]

Though both are future third person plural forms and through Tamil has both കൊൾവർ, കൊണ്മർ[9] Malayalam has only the former in the period of ലീലാതിലകം- for കൊണ്മർ[10] in a very early westcost inscription, cf. TAS VIII, P. 41.

There is another old Tamil type കൊണ്മാർ[11] which in middle Tamil becames very rare. In Malayalam it is absent - This Old Tamil type is perhaps a participial noun, and it always modifies finties (cf, the rule "മാർ വിനൈയൊടുമുടിമേ" of നന്നൂൽ[12]).

---

1. Malayalam: uṇmar Tamil : uṇpar
2. uṇpar, kāṇpat, enpat cf. forms like kāṇpēn in kauṭalīyaṃ, bhāṣāvyākhyānaṃ
3. līlātilakaṃ
4. m
5. uṇ, kāṇ, en and tin
6. Malayalam: varuvar Tamil : varuvār
7. kauṭalīyaṃ, bhāṣā dūtavākyaṃ and uṇṇunīlisandēśaṃ
8. Malayalam: koḷvar Tamil : koṇmar
9. koḷvar, koṇmar
10. līlātilakaṃ for koṇmar
11. koṇmār
12. mār vinaiyoṭumuṭimē of nannūl

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

(vi) Malayalam കൂവി (it cried, shouted) - Tamil കൂയിറ്റ്[1]

Malayalam താവി (it spread) - Tamil തായിറ്റ്[2]

Here the contrast is not only in respect of the third person neuter singular ending which is present in Tamil but absent in the Malayalam forms, but also in respect of the structure of the bases. കൂയിറ്റു and തായിറ്റു[3] are, strictly speaking, Old Tamil forms based upon കൂ (to Cry) and താ[4](spread) .Old Tamil texts show the participles കൂയ് (later കൂവി), തായ് (later താവി[5]) and the present future കൂഉം (later കൂവും[6]). From forms like കൂഉം (pronounced കൂവും[7] with a glide developed sound), bases like കൂവ് and similerly താവ്[8] appear to havebeen 'isolated' in later stages. Malayalam has only these 'developed' bases.

The absence in Malayalam of personal terminations in third person ' neuter' past tens forms is to disappear from Malayalam tense - forms even before the time of Lilatilakam, but this disappearance was perhaps more freceuenty associated in the initial stages with 'neuter' tens - forms than with others. Among the early Travancore inscriptions, I find only a few instances of tens - forms without personal endings.

കൊടുത്തു[9] (TAS, IV p.71, 1.3) -3rd person masculine - 13th century.

കൽപിച്ചു[10] (TAS, VII p.71, 112) - 14th century.

In Old Malayalam texts the absence of pronominal terminations is not infrequent, cf. the following :-

തക്കംപെറ്റു നിൻപേർ[11] (RC, 80)-3rd person neuter, വന്നു[12] (RC - 126,) 3rd Person neuter, ഉണ്ടായി[13] (US, 1. 26-3rd Person neuter)

---

1. Malayalam: kūvi Tamil : kūyiṟṟ
2. Malayalam: tāvi Tamil : tāyiṟṟ
3. kuyiṟṟu and tāyiṟṟu
4. kū and tā 5. kūy -later kūvi, tāy- later tāvi
6. kūuṃ- later kūvuṃ
7. kūuṃ- pronounced kūvuṃ
8. kūv and similarly tāv
9. koṭuttu
10. kalpiccu
11. takkaṃ peṟṟū nin pēr 12. vannū
13. uṇṭāyi

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

പെരുതാകിൻറു[1] (RC 47), 3rd person singular neuter. The citation in the commentaries of Lilathilakam contain instances of verbal finties without personal endings, like the followings :

ചെങ്ങീകടാക്ഷം (IV, 2), ഞാനുമൊൻറല്ലലായീ (IV, 15),

തുരതുരമണ്ടി തുരുക്കരെല്ലാരും (VIII, 12)[2]

14. Reference is also made to the fact that while Tamil uses Sanskrit words like കുസുമ, മുഖ, ചന്ദ്ര [3] with certain structural changes (ആരിയച്ചിതൈവു[4]) as കുതുമം (change of- s- to -d) മുകം[5], (the disappearance of the aspirate element in-ഖ് and the voicing of -ക്[6]) and ചന്തിരൻ[7] (the use of the anaptycitc vowel) Malayalam retains the Sanskrit forms without these changes.

The difference pointed out here, when interpreted from the modern student's standpoint, shows that scholars in Malabar had from a fairly early period begun to "import " tatsamas from Skt, - a fact which is abundantly illustrated notonly by the popularity of the literary form in Malayalam, but also by the popularity enjoyed by Sanskrit elements in the conversational language of the period of Lilatilakam (cf.the വൃത്തി[8] to II, 8, and III, 29, below)

I. II

Lilatilakam defines and explains the nature of പാട്ട്[9] in Malayalam, as distinguished from the manipravala form The essential characterstics of പാട്ട്[9] are : (i) the use of Dravidic metres and rules of versification along with the employment of മോന and എതുക[10] (ii) the employment of purely Dravidic sounds (iii) The use of Skt. words, if employed at all only as naturalised adaptations known as ആരിയച്ചി[11]

1. perutākinṟu
2. ceṅṅikaṭākṣaṃ, ñānumonṟallalāyī, turaturamaṇṭi turukkarellāruṃ
3. kusuma, mukha, candra
4. āriyaccitaivu
5. kutumaṃ as mukaṃ
6. kh and the voicing of k
7. cantiran
8. vṛtti
9. pāṭṭ
10. mōna and etuka
11. āriyaccitaivu

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

തൈവു inTamil ; (iv) the employment of older forms like വന്താൻ, പിളന്ത[1] instead of the genuine Malayalam developments വന്നാൻ and പിളന്നാ[2].

1. When the വൃത്തി[3] refers to the സാമ്യ[4] of libial ഒ and ഉ[5] the initial sounds of the first ചീർ[6] and of the fifth ചീർ[6] of the third line of the പാട്ട്[7] stanza cited in the വൃത്തി[3] it adverts to a well - known Tamil practice of മോനൈ[8] rhyme. Another such Tamil rule permitting the agreement of തി and ചി[9] is adverted to in the observation 'ചികാര തികാരയോസ്സാമ്യം പ്രതീതി സാക്ഷികം[10]'

2. തര, താനവ, താമ, ഉരകചായി, ആനന്ത[11] occurring in a verse cited as an illustration for പാട്ട് are described as ആരിയച്ചി തൈവു[12]. The forms are derived respectively from Sanskrit ധര, ദാന വ, ധാമൻ, ഉരഗശായിൻ, ആനന്ദ[13]. The term ആരിയച്ചിതൈവു[12] is used by the commentators of തൊൽക്കാപ്പിയം[14] on the basis of the experssions ചിതൈന്തന[15] employed by തൊൽക്കാപ്പിയം[14] for adaptations from Indo - aryan, in the rule, 'ചിതൈന്തനവരിനും ഇയൈ ന്തന വരൈയാർ[16]'.

3. ചിരതരം[17] occuring in the same verse, is cited as an example of a Sanskrit loan written in symbols common to Sanskrit and Tamil - Malayalam.This is envisages by the തൊൽക്കാപ്പിയം[12] rule.-

വടചൊറ്കിളവി വടവെഴുത്തൊരീഇ
യെഴുത്തൊടു പുണർന്ത ചൊല്ലാകുമ്മേ.[18]

---

1. vantān, piḷantā
2. vannān, piḷanna
3. vṛtti
4. sāmya
5. o and u
6. cir
7. pāṭṭ
8. mōnai
9. ti and ci
10. "cikāratikārayōssāmyam̩, pratītisākṣikam̩"
11. tara, tāna, tāma, urakacāyi, ānanta
12. āriyaccitaivu
13. dharā, dānava, dhāman, uragaśāyin, ānanda
14. tolkāppiyam̩
15. citaintana
16. " citaintana varinum̩ iyaintana varaiyār "
17. cirataram̩
18. " vaṭacor̲ kiḷavi vaṭavez̲uttori iyez̲uttoṭu puṇarnta collākummē "

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

നന്നൂൽ[1] adverts to such words as words return in പൊതുവെഴുത്ത്[2].

4. Another obsevation refers to nine types of changes mentioned in Tamil grammars, and cites തര (for ധര) and അനന്താപുര (for അനന്തപുര[3]) as illustrating respevtively) two of these changes (viz shortening and lengthening).

തൊൽക്കാപ്പിയം refers to these in two rules, the 7th സൂത്ര of എച്ചവിയൽ ('അന്നാറ്ചൊല്ലുന്തൊടുക്കുങ്കാലൈ...) and the 51 st സൂത്ര of എച്ചവിയൽ (കുറച്ചൊറുകിളവി കുറൈയ്ക്കും വഴി അറുതൽ...)[4].

These are referred to as ചെയ്യുൾവികാരം in നന്നൂൽ "വലിത്തൻ മെലിത്ത നീട്ടൽ കുറുക്കൽ വിരിത്തൽ തൊകുത്തലും വരും ചെയ്യുൾ വേണ്ടുഴി" and 'ഒരു മൊഴി മുവഴിക്കുറൈത്തലു മനൈത്തെ'[5].

The ലീലാതിലകം[6] commentary refers to these changes in the 4th ശിൽപ[7] as changes peculiar to Tamil ചെയ്യുൾ[8] and Malayalam പാട്ട്[9] and mentions particularly one type viz, അന്ത്യലോപവികാര as in നീൽ for നീലം.[10]

5.Forms like അളന്താ, പിളന്താ (with ന്ത instead of ന്ന[11]) in Malayalam പാട്ട്[9] are due to the 'resemblance' in a large measure of forms of Malayalam പാട്ട്[9] to Tamil forms.

This gives the reason why in texts like രാമചരിതം the older groups ങ്ക്, ഞ്ച്, ന്ത് exist side by side with ങ്ങ്, ഞ്ഞ് and ന്ന്[12]. The change of ങ്ക് to ങ്ങ്, ഞ്ച് to ഞ്ഞ് and ന്ത് to ന്ന്[13] had materalized already

---

1. nannūl
2. potuveẕutt
3. tara for dharā and anantāpura (for anantapura)
4. tolkāppiyaṃ refers to these in two rules : the 7th sūtra of eccaviyal (annāṟ colluntoṭukkuṅkālai...) and the 51st sūtra of eccaviyal (kaṟaiccoṟ kiḷavi kaṟaikkuṃ vaẕi aṟital...)
5. ceyyuḷ vikāraṃ in nannūl "valittan melittanīṭṭal kuṟukkalvirittal tokattaluṃ varuṃ ceyyuḷ vēṇṭuẕi " and "orumoẕi mūvaẕikkuṟaittalu manaitte "
6. līlātilakaṃ 7. śilppa 8. ceyyuḷ 9. pāṭṭ
10. antyalōpavikāra as in nīl for nīlaṃ
11. aḷantā, piḷantā : ntā instead of nna
12. rāmacaritaṃ the older groups ṅk, ñc, nta exist side by side with ṅṅ, ññ **and** nn
13. ṅk to ṅṅ, ñc to ññ, nta to nn

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

in the language of the ത്രൈവർണ്ണിക[1], through the 'low castes', continued to use forms like വന്താൻ, തേങ്കാ, മാങ്കാ[2]

All this shows that the pattu type referred to here was a literary form inherited by Malayalam from an ancient stage. When the affinties of Malayalam to Tamil were far more intimate than at the time of Lilatilakam .

śilpa II

The first eight sutras treat about the vocabulary of the manipravala form, the next fifteen deal with Malayalam casal inflexions, gender and number, and the last two give a summary account of verb - forms.

The വൃത്തി[3] to the sutras treating about the vocabulary contain very interesting observations which merit the attention of the student of Malayalam. But the section on Malayalam morphology, particularly the discussion of verbs is disappointingly meagre and inadequate.

II.I

The vocabularial elements of മണിപ്രവാള[4] are demarcated as ഭാഷാ and സംസ്കൃത[5], the former being constitued of ദേശീ or രൂഢ[6] words, സംസ്കൃതഭവ and സംസ്കൃതരൂപ[7] and the general category of ഭാഷീകൃതസംസ്കൃത[8]s (which category includes many representatives of the സംസ്കൃതരൂപ[9] group), while the latter is constituted of all ശുദ്ധസംസ്കൃതs of വിഭക്ത്യന്ത സംസ്കൃത[10].

The ദേശീ[11] elements are still further subdivided into ശുദ്ധദേശീ, ഭാഷാന്തരസമ and ഭാഷാന്തരഭവ[12].

1. traivarṇika
2. vantān, tēṅkā, māṅkā
3. vṛtti
4. maṇipravāḷa
5. bhāṣā and saṃskṛta
6. dēśī or rūḍha
7. saṃskṛtabhava and saṃskṛtarūpa
8. bhāṣīkṛta saṃskṛta
9. saṃskṛtarūpa
10. śuddhasaṃskṛta or vibhaktyanta saṃskṛta
11. dēśī
12. śuddhadēśī, bhāṣāntarasama and bhāṣāntarabhava

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

II. 2

ശുദ്ധദേശി[1] words, as the term itself denotes, are those peculiar to Malayalam, without cognates in other ദേശഭാഷ[2] of the south. The illustrations appearing in the published manuscript are കൊച്ച്, മുഴം and ഞൊടി[3]. മുഴം and ഞൊടി[4] have cognates in other South Indian languages, and cannot be described as ശുദ്ധദേശി[1] words.

II. 3

ഭാഷാന്തരസമ[5] words are those which have cognates showing indentity of structure and meaning in other South Indian speeches. The examples given in II, 3, are പൊൻ, നാളെ, ഉടൽ[6], among which പൊൻ is described by Lilatilakam as ചോളഭാഷാസമ[7], നാളെ as കർണ്ണാടഭാഷാസദൃശ[8] and ഉടൽ as ആന്ധ്രഭാഷാസമ[9]. Though there may be some reason for describing നാളെ as കർണ്ണാടഭാഷാസദൃശ[8] in view of the structural identity of Malayalam നാളെ and Kannada നാളെ[10] with the same meaning (as distinct from lilerary Tamil നാളൈ[11]), there appears to be no special ground for calling ഉടൽ an ആന്ധ്രഭാഷാസദൃശ[12] word since ഉടൽ or ഒടൽ[13] occurs in other South Indian Dravidian languages thanMalayalam and Telugu.

The standpoint of Lilatilakam with reference to ഭാഷാന്തരസദൃശ[14] words of Malayalam is made clear in the course of a discussion in the commentary on, I,1 with some insistence and elaboration, Lilatilakam maintains that words like കുന്തൽ[15] " women's tresses of hair", കുഴൽ [16] " women's curled hair" and കൊങ്ക[17] "women's breast"

1. śuddhadēśī
2. dēśabhāṣā
3. koccu, muẕaṃ and ñoṭi
4. muẕaṃ and ñoṭi
5. bhāṣāntarasama
6. pon, nāḷe, uṭal
7. pon is described by lilatilakam as cōḷabhāṣā sama
8. nāḷe as karṇṇāṭa bhāṣāsadṛśa
9. uṭal as āndrābhāṣa sama
10. nāḷe and Kannada nāḷe
11. Tamil nāḷai
12. uṭal as āndrābhāṣa sadṛśa
13. uṭal and oṭal
14. bhāṣāntara sadṛśa
15. kūntal
16. kuẕal
17. koṅka

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

which occur at the same time in Malayalam മണിപ്രവാള[1] works and in Tamil, are as much the property of Malayalam as that of Tamil, even though words like these are used in Malayalam only in the വിശേഷവ്യവഹാര of കാവ്യ[2]. According to Lilatilakam, they belong to the category of ചോളഭാഷാസമ[3] words, and do not lose their Malayalam individuality. So far as words in common usage in Malayalam like പോൻ, കൽ, കാൽ[4] etc. are concerned, their Mal. character was quite beyond all doubt, and with reference to similar words in Tamil, they are clearly ചോളഭാഷാസദൃശ[5] words. Doubts, however, appeared to have arisen regarding purely literary words like കൂന്തൽ, കുഴൽ and കൊങ്ക[6] because these appeared only in വിശേഷവ്യവഹാര[7] in Malayalam. Lilatilakam dispels these doubts by saying that it is immaterial whether the words concerned occur in common or in literary usage "വിശേഷവ്യവഹാരേ ദർശനം കിം ന പര്യാപ്തം? വിശേഷ വ്യവഹാരോപി വ്യവഹാര എവ സ്യാത"[8].

Lilatilakam fortifies its position further with the observations "അഥ വിശേഷവ്യവഹാരേ ദർശനം അപ്രയോജകം ഉച്യതേ, തർഹി 'ആടൂഉ', 'മകടൂഉ', 'നാടൂരി' ഇത്യയേശ്ചോള ശബ്ദാ: കഥം ചോളഭാഷാ ഭവേയു:... തേവ ചോളപാണ്ഡ്യാനാം വിശേഷവ്യവഹാരേ... ഭവന്തി, ന തു തേഷാം സാമാന്യവ്യവഹാരേ[9]".

Lilatilakam seems to have regarded these words from a level descriptive standpoint. The modern student of the historical evolution of Malayalam, who finds that all the evidence available today points to the earliest stages of the west coast speech having been more or less coincident with what could be called Middle Tamil, would, consider words like കൂന്തൽ, കുഴൽ and കൊങ്ക[6] as either, preservations in

---

1. maṇiprāvāḷa
2. viśēṣa vyavahāra of kāvya
3. cōḷabhāṣā sama
4. pōn, kal, kāl
5. cōḷabhāṣā sadṛśa
6. kūntal, kuẕal and koṅka
7. viśēṣa vyavahāra
8. " viśēṣa vyavahārē darśanaṃ kiṃ na paryāptaṃ? viśēṣa vyavahārōpi vyavahāra ēva syāta."
9. "atha viśēṣa vyavahārē darśanaṃ aprayōjakaṃ ucyatē, tarhi 'āṭūu', 'makaṭūu', 'nāṭuri' ityādayaścōḷa śabdā kathaṃ cōḷabhāṣā bhavēyu... tēca cōḷapāṇaḍyānāṃ viśēṣa vyavahārē... bhavanti, na tu tēṣāṃ sāmānyavyavahārē'

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

Malayalam literature of the lexical inheritance from a common stage or as learned borrowings from Tamil, according as the evidence warrants one way or the other. This historical outlook was, however foreign to Lilatilakam.

In this connection, Lilatilakam lays down the general propostion that when words identical in structure and meaning occur in more than one ദേശഭാഷാ[1] such words belong to each of these speeches and that the words in any one particular speech could only be described as ഭാഷാന്തരസമ[2] with reference to their counterparts in other speeches : "കേചിത് കൈശ്ചിദ് ഭാഷാന്തരൈരെസദൃശാസ്സമ്പദ്യന്തേ പുരുഷാ ഇവ; തേഷു പുനസ്തദ് ബുദ്ധിർന്നകാര്യം, കിന്തു തത്' സദൃശ ബുദ്ധിരേവ യുക്താ; അന്യഥാ ഗോസദൃശേ ഗവയേ ദേവദത്തേ വാ സാക്ഷാദ് ഗോപുദ്ധൌതത് കാര്യം വാഹദോഹാദി കമപി ക്രിയേത[3]"

The terms in which the resemblance or similarity is here referred to, show that Lilatilakam did not concern itself with the process by which the resemblance arose; the later portion of the above citation would even suggest that Lilatilakam did not even think of the possibility of realationship between such words in different speeches. The modern student of the historical and comparative evolution of speeches would not dismiss these resemblances as accidental or unimportant, but would seek to clarify the processes by which these resemblances might have arisen. This historical and comparative outlook, however, was foreign to Lilatilakam, as mentioned above.

The unchanllengeable individuality of the west coast speech is the corner -stone on which Lilatilakma bases all discussion of ഭാഷാന്തരസമ[2] words in Malayalam. This basic idea is evident in contexts like the following :-

---

1. dēśabhāṣā
2. bhāṣāntarasama
3. "kēcita kaiścid bhāṣāntarai sadṛśāssanpadyantē puruṣā iva, tēṣu punastad uddhirnnakāṙyaṃ, kintu tatsadṛśabuddhirēva yuktā, anyathā, gō sadṛśē gavayē dēvadattē vā sākṣād gōbuddhautatkāryaṃ vāhadōhādi kamapi kriyēta"

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

i) When the commentary adverts to the inapropriateness (അനുപ പത്തി[1]) of regarding common Malayalam words like പൊൻ, തേൻ, കൽ[2] etc.. as being foreign simply because they are met with in other ദേശഭാഷാ[3].

ii) When stress is laid upon the fixity or definiteness of words. ("ഏതേ ദേശഭാഷാശബ്ദാസ്സർവേപി പ്രതിനിയതാ ഏവ ഭവന്ത[4]")

iii) when the proposition is adumbrated that " One language cannot enter another " ("ന ഭാഷായാം ഭാഷാന്തരം സമാവിശതി, വ്യവസ്ഥാവി ലയപ്രസംഗാത്"[5])

iv) when the commentary prescribes സാഹചര്യ[6] as the test or the criterion by which the actual nature (സാഹചര്യാദന്യതമത്വനിശ്ചയ[7]:) of a word could be determined.

v) when the commentary rejects the suggestion that certain words might be considered to be common to Mal. and Tam. ("കുന്തശ്ചാദി ശ ബ്ദശ്ചോളാനാം കേരളാനാം ച സാധാരണ ഇതി കിം നോച്യതേ? അംഗ! കസ്തദാ തവ ലാഭഃ? ചോളഭാഷാത്വമിതി ചേന്ന, നിശ്ചിതസാഹചര്യാ ദേകതരഭാവസമ്പത്തേഃ"[8])

vi) when the commentary on II, 3, expressly points out the ചോള ഭാഷാസമ[9] character of Kerala communal colloquialisms like മാങ്കാ, തേങ്കാ, വന്താൻ, ഇരുന്താൻ ("സാ തു ഭാഷാ ചോളഭാഷാസമേതി ദ്രഷ്ടവ്യം; ന തു ചോളാഭാഷേതി; അന്യഥാ വ്യവസ്ഥാസ്തമയപ്രസം ഗാത്")[10] and

vii) when, after enumerating the fundamental differences between Tamil and Malayalam, the commentary clinches the argument by saying "കിം കിം വർണ്ണ്യതേഃ അത്ര യത്രകുത്രചിദപി ചോളഭാഷാ ലവോപി നോപലഭ്യതേ[11]"

---

1. anupapatti 2. pon, tēn, kal 3. dēśabhāṣā
4. " ētē dēśabhāṣā śabdāsarvvēpi pratiniyatā ēva bhavanta "
5. " na bhāṣāyāṃ bhāṣāntaraṃ samāpiśati, vyavasthāvilayaprasaṅgāt "
6. sāhacaryā 7. sāhacaryādanyatamatvaniścaya:
8. " kūntalādi śabdacōḷānāṃ kēraḷānāṃ ca sādhāraṇa iti kiṃ nōcyatē? aṃga! kastatā tava lābha:? cōḷabhāṣā tvamiti cēnna, niścita sāhacaryā d ēkatarabhāva sanpattē:"
9. cōḷabhāṣā sama
10. māṅkā, tēṅkā, vantān, iruntān ("sātu bhāṣā cōḷabhāṣāsamēti draṣṭavyaṃ, na tu cōḷabhāṣēti, anyathā vyavasthāsthamaya prasaṅgāta")
11. "kiṅkiṃ varṇyatē athra yatrakutravidapi cōḷabhāṣā lavōpi nōpalabhyatē"

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

II. 3

The illustrations suggested by Lilatilakam for ഭാഷാന്തരഭവ forms are വന്നാൻ, നമുക്ക് and വേണ്ടാ[1]. A some what clumsy and hesitant attempt is made to derive the forms from Kannada ബന്ദനു, നമഗു and ബേഡ[2], on the ground that when Parasurama created Kerala the mainland already existed. In the alternative , the Tamil forms വന്താൻ, നമക്ക്, വേണ്ടാ[3] are suggested as the originals of the Malayalam words.

The anteriority and posteriortiy of linguistic forms are determined today by the clarification of their spatial and chronological history and by the application of general laws of phonetics. Even if the reference to പരശുരാമ[4] having created Kerala is understoood figuratively, and interpreted as implying a comparatively late origin for Malayalam, there seems to exist no reason at all why the commentary should have regarded Kannada as supplying the originals from which these Malayalam forms were derived.

Perhaps all that the commentary was sure of was that these Malayalam forms showed structural modifications in comparison with those of other ദേശഭാഷ[5] and that they might have been അപഭ്രംശ[6] or 'corruptions'.

An intersiting fact mentioned in the vrtti is that the " low castes " of Kerala used forms like വന്താൻ, ഇരുന്താൻ, തേങ്കാ, മാങ്കാ[7]. Apparently, in communal dialects of Kerala, the change of വന്താൻ to വന്നാൻ, തേങ്കാ to തേങ്ങാ[8] etc. had not become universal, even through the developments had become generally popular in bothe the literary and the colloquial varieaties of Malayalam. This perhaps points to the fact that the development of the Malayalam features from the parent speech had not been quite uniform among all communities (and possibly

1. bhāṣāntarabhava forms are vannān, namukk and vēṇṭa
2. bandanu, namagu and bēḍa
3. vantān, namakk and vēṇṭā
4. paraśurāma
5. dēśabhāṣā
6. apabhraṃśa
7. vantān, iruntān, tēṅkā, māṅkā
8. vannān, tēṅkā to tēṅṅ

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

in all areas) of Kerala. This fact may account for the existence, side by side in old west coast texts and inscriptions, of Malayalam and pre Malayalam features.

II. 4

This sutra postulates that all words which can be traced to Sanskrit primaries are സംസ്കൃതഭവ[1]. The instances*[6] given in the vritti are തേവർ, വക്കം, ചങ്ങത്, പലക, പിച്ച, താലി, കമുക്[2]. These are all described as സംസ്കൃതഭവ.[1] The vrtti further notes that certain words may also be traced to Prakrit. eg. വക്കാണം (OIA വ്യാഖ്യാന), ചിരിദേവി (OIA ശ്രീദേവി), ആണ (OIA ആജ്ഞാ)[3]. While the originals of വക്കാണം, ആണ[4] etc. are easily recognized as Prakrit (MIA) forms, the question of the infiuence of MIA on forms like പിച്ച, കമുക്, താലി, ചങ്ങത[5] in the aforesaid list, has to be considered from the modern standpoint.

The commentary opines that Sanskrit was the source from which all other languages took their origin, and then proceeds to obseve that രൂഢ[6] words are those whose relationship to Sanskrit cannot even by remotely inferred or guessed. The belief that he Dravidian languages owed their origin to Sankrit was once universally current in South India and even to - day there are not wanting scholars who try to bolster up this view. The commentary appears to have been influenced by this general belief, but it is refreshing to note that the outlook of the commentary is so far free from preconceived notions that it gives us an elaborate expostion of the futility of attempts to connect രൂഢ words like വയറ്, നാക്ക്, പാമ്പ്[7] with their soþ called Sanskrit primaries.

Lilatilakam explains സംസ്കൃതഭവ[1] words of Malayalam as those whose relationship to Sankrit originals could be inferred ("പ്രകൃതി തോനസ്ഥിതം സംസ്കൃതം ക്വചിദൂഹവിഷയോ ഭവതി")[8] The character

1. saṃskṛtabhava
2. tēvar, vakkaṃ, caṅṅata, palaka, picca, tāli, kamuk
3. vakkāṇaṃ - vyākhyāna; ciridēvi - śrīdēvi, āṇa -ājñā
4. vakkāṇaṃ, āṇa
5. picca, kamuk, tāli, caṅṅata
6. rūḍha
7. rūḍha words like vayaṟ, nākk, pānp
8. " prakṛti tēnasthitaṃ saṃskṛtaṃ kvacidūha viṣayō bhavati" 112.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

of this relationship and the processes and circumstances regulating it are not discussed but the general stand point of Lilatilakam that sanskrit is the source of all other languages should have led it to view these സംസ്കൃതഭവ[1] as evidencing in a greater or lesser dergree their ultimates Sanskritic origin, as distinguished form the ദേശി[2] elements which, according to the work, should have become changed beyond recognition.

While this is the Stand point of Lilatilakam, the modern student who condeiders Dravidian and Indoaryan as fundamentally separate languages -families. would regard 'തത്ഭവ[3]' as adapations (with differnet changes) from OIA and MIA at differnet stages in the history of the cultural and social contacts of the two language familis.

The term സംസ്കൃതഭവ[1] in Malayalam (or in other Dravidian speeches) has to be understood by the modern student in a differnt sense from that implied in Lilatilakam or that given to it expressly in Prakrit grammars and modern Indo - aryan speeches.

II. 5

The group of സംസ്കൃതരൂപ[4] words of Malayalam is constitued of Sanskrit words which show changes in the endings, when usen in Malayalam ('അന്തേവികൃതം സംസ്കൃതം[5]'). As the illustrations show, these changes might be of differnt kinds, the adaptation of the SKT. masculine bases with the Malayalam മ് (as in മേഘം and ബാണം[6]) and the shortending of the endings ആ and ഈ of Sanskrit feminine bases (as in മാല and നദി[7])

Lilatilakam considers even the ending മ of the സംസ്കൃതരൂപ: കുങ്കുമം, കാരണം, ബലം and കലം[8], as the ഭാഷാ ending 'മ'[9] and not

1. saṃskṛtabhava
2. dēśī
3. tatbhava
4. saṃskṛtarūpa
5. "antēvikṛtaṃ saṃskṛtaṃ"
6. m as in mēghaṃ, bāṇaṃ
7. ā and ī of sanskrit feminine bases as in māla and nadi
8. ma of the saṃskṛtarūpa - kuṅkumaṃ, kāraṇaṃ, balaṃ and kal
9. bhāṣā ending m

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

the Sanskrit neuter nominavtive ending. പിതാവ്, രാജാവ്; പശുവ്[1] with the off glide embodied in Sanskrit nomivatives or Sanskrit bases, are also mentioned here.

While Lilatilakam would perhaps regard സംസ്കൃതരൂപ[2] as part of the ancient inheritance from Sanskrit, consistenly whith its view that Sanksrit is the source of all other languauges, the modern student would consider സംസ്കൃതരൂപ[2] as borrowings from Sanskrit by Malayalam at differnt stages of its history, with changes embodied only in the endings.

The. വൃത്തി[3] notes in passing that there are no ശുദ്ധപ്രാകൃത[4] forms in Malayalam മണിപ്രവാള[5], that words like മാണിക്കം are പ്രാകൃതരൂപ or പ്രാകൃതസമ[6], that all സമത്വ[7] arises from the identity of the പ്രകൃതി[8] portion, and that forms like പളിങ്ങ് are പ്രാകൃതൈകദേശസമ[9].

II.7

"Native words with Sanskrit pratyayas may be used in Kavyas". i) The vrtti states that such forms (native nouns with Sanskrit declensional endings and native verbs with Sanskrit conjugational affixes) are never met with in ordinary conversation.

It needs to be remarked that these mongrel forms, some of which were bizarre in the extreme, were fashionbale only among Sanskritis during a particular period of Malayalam literature. The observation int he commentary of Lialatilakam that such forms never occurred in converations - (as contrasted with naturalised Sanskrit words having native endings for which, see bleow)-shows clearly that these സംസ്കൃതീകൃതഭാഷാ[10] forms never extended beyond the circle

1. pitāv, rājāv, paśuv
2. saṃskṛtarūpa
3. vṛtti
4. śuddha prākṛta
5. maṇiprāvāḷa
6. māṇikkaṃ are prākṛtarūpa or prākṛtasama
7. samatva,
8. prakṛti
9. pāḷiṅṅ are prākṛtaikadēśasama
10. saṃskṛtīkṛtabhāṣa

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

of Sankrit scholars who indulged in them in a spirt of pedantry or (in some instances) of pleasntry. കൊങ്കയാ, കേഴന്തീ, ഊണുറക്കൌ, പോക്കാഞ്ചക്രേ, പുപൂകിരേ, ചുചൂടിരേ, തതല്ലിരേ, മമണ്ടിരേ[1] are instances given in the citations of the വൃത്തി[2] of this work.

ഉണ്ണുനീലിസന്ദേശം has പിന്നിടേഥ:, മാടമ്പീനാം, പൊത്തയിത്വാ, പൊൻമേടാനാം[3]. Even ചന്ദ്രോത്സവം of a later date shows പൊടിഭി: and വിളക്കുമാടസ്യ[4].

ii) The വൃത്തി[2] further points out hat samasas formed of native and Sanskrit words, like നീലക്കൺ, പച്ച ദന്തച്ചുവട്, and ആമ്പൽപ്രിയാബരണം[5] with the Sankrit constituents in differnet positions have nothing peculiar about them.

II.7

In the course of avery intersting discussions, the വൃത്തി[2] explains the uniqueness or അപൂർവ്വത്വ[6] of the Tamil Malayalam sounds ൻറ്, ററ്, റ്, ഴ് and short എ and ഒ and alveolar ന[7].

Each one of these sounds is taken up and shown to be an independent sound, i.e in the languages of modern phoneticians, a seperate phoneme.

ൻറ[8] Lilatilakam points out, cannot be shown to have been a modifications of ന്ദ[9]; it is a consonant group which has an individuality of its own, ഴ്[10] cannot similarly be shown to be a variant of ഷ്[11] or of any other sound, though the adaptation of ഷ് in തത്ഭവ like പുരുഴൻ[12] shows ഴ[10], there are hosts of native words with ഴ് [10] in which no original ഷ്[11] can conceivably be postulated.

---

1. koṅkaya,kēẕantī, ūṇuṟakkau, pōkkāñcakrē, pupūkirē, cucūṭirē, tatallirē, mamaṇṭirē
2. vṛtti
3. uṇṇunīlisandēśaṃ has pinniṭētha, māṭanpīnāṃ, pottitvā, ponmēṭānāṃ
4. candrōtsavaṃ of a later date shows poṭibhi: and viḷakkumāṭasya
5. nīlakkaṇ, pacca dantaccuvaṭ and ānpal priyābharaṇaṃ
6. apūrvvatva
7. sounds nṟ, ṟṟ, ṟ, ẕa and short e, o and alveolar n
8. nṟa 9. nda 10. ẕ 11. ṣ
12. tatbhava like puruẕun ẕ

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

റ് is totally separate from ര്[1]; for, other wise ഉരി and ഉറി[2] could not be distinguished and കരി 'charcoal and കറി[3] 'curry' would be alike.ററ്[4] has a speical phonetic value. (viz that of a long voiceless alveolar plosive) which marks it off from other sounds.

As short എ and ഒ[5] form as much the special property of Dravidian languages as of Prakrit, these sounds cannot be held (according to the വൃത്തി[6]) to be Prakrit - derived.

II. 7

The vrtti gives a clear expostion of the differnece between dental ന് and alveolar ന[7].

i) It is pointed out that this diffenrence is a fundamental one in Malayalam, since the confusion of the two sounds would result in confusion of meaning, as for instance in കാൺക നാവിൽ [8]' see in the tongue ' and കാൺ കനാവിൽ[8] see in dream. No such semantic confusion would result from varying the value of ന in Sanskrit words.

ii) The differnce in the evaluation of the sounds of Sanskrit words is a 'കാകതാലീയ[9]' feature, says the വൃത്തി which also cites a കാരികം[10] embodying some of the rules for the differentation of the dental and the alveolar ന് in the evaluation of Sanskrit sounds.

iii) The വൃത്തി[6] then observes that these rules regarding the differentation of dental and alveolar ന[7] in the pronouciation of Sanskrit words is subject to deviations among the east coast peoples ('അസ്യ ന്യായസ്യ ചോളേഷു വ്യഭിചാരദർശനാത്'[11]) This would refer to the evaluation, common in the east coast during the period of Lilatilakam, of all the ന് sounds of Sanksrit as alveolar ന് (except in ന്ത്, ന്ഥ്, ന്ദ്, ന്ധ് [12]).

---

1. ṟ is totally seperate from ra
2. uri and uṟi
3. kari and kaṟi
4. ṟṟ
5. e and o
6. vṛtti
7. dental n and alveolar na
8. kāṇka nāvil and kāṇ kanāvil
9. kākatālīya
10. kārika
11. "asya nyāyasya cōḷēṣu vyabhicāra darśanāt "
12. n except in nta, ntha, nda, nd.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

iv) The commentary next adverts to the alternative dental and alveolar values, in Kerala evaluations, for the long nasal in ചൊന്നാൻ[1] but since this difference in sound - value does not alter themeaning, it is said to be 'അപ്രയോജകം[2]' This alternative value is heard even today when texts are read. The actual original value of the long nasal was that of the alveolar, in view of the origin of ചൊന്നാൻ[1] from ചൊല്ലി നാൻ[3]; but forms like ചൊൻറാൻ[4] appearing in the west coaat manuscripts of this period- artifical creations of learned men like വൻറ്- and തൻറ്[5]-, - imply the existence (in colloquials?) of the dental valude for the long nasal of this word. The വൃത്തി[6] obseves that no alternative evaluation is possible for the long nasal in other navtive words like വന്നാൻ, പോന്നാൻ[7] which should have only the dental value. in the absence of which there would be un intelligiblness.

v) The vrtti mentions also the differnece in the manner of the production of the sounds while ന[8] is a dental sound in the articulation of which there is only spreading of the foreblade of the tongue and no bending of the tongue-tip, ന[8] is an alveolar sound produced by bending the tip of the tongue (slightly) upwards and making it to touch the upper gums or the region immediately behind.

The difference in the phonation of the two sounds have already been mentioned by Tolkappiyam, EI 93 and 94. The observation of Lilatilakam:'ജിഹ്വായാ വിസ്താരേ[9]:' regarding the articulation of dental ന[8] may be compared to Tolkappiyam 'നാനുനി പരന്ത്[10]'. 'ജിഹ്വാഗ്ര സ്വോന്നതി[11]:' for the production of alveloar ന may compared to the Tolkappiyam observation 'അണരി നുനിനം (അണ്ണം ഒററ[12])'.

1. connān
2. aprayōjakaṃ
3. collinān
4. conṟān
5. vanṟ and tanṟ
6. vṛtti
7. vannān, pōnnān
8. n
9. "jihvāyā vistārē:"
10. "nānuni parant"
11. jihvāgrasvōnnati
12. aṇari nūninaṃ (aṇṇaṃ oṟṟa)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

vi) I may note here that while in the modern Mal. alphabet the same symbol represents the dental ന and the alveolarന[1] there are two separate symbols for these sounds in Tamil, but while the diffencene in sound value is Meticulously observed by the Malayalam speaker according to the contexts concerned, this difference has practically ceased to exist in modern Tamil evaluation which gives an alveloar value both to the dental ന and to the alveolar ന[1]. The difference between dental ന and alveolar ന[1] does not exist in Telugu or in Kannada.

II. 7

The citation of an അഗസ്ത്യസൂത്ര[2] is followed immediately by the observation (made by the ലീലാതിലകം[3] commentary) that since the form 'മറ്റേ' is used by അഗസ്ത്യ in his സൂത്ര[4], the sound റ്റ്[5] should also be presumed to have been considered by that grammer as a unique Dravidian (non - Sanskritic) sound.

It has to be noted here that the Tamil grammatical tradition, from the time of തൊൽക്കാപ്പിയനാർ[6] down till to-day, does not recognise any distintion between the sound-character of short റ് and that of long റ്റ്[7] both of which are considered as alveolar plosives. This tradition started perhaps very early, when the value of short റ് still had the value of an alveolar plosive, like റ്റ്.[8]

In later periods, the alveolar plosive value of റ്[9] seems to have changed to that of and - r -trill. In Middle Tamil inscriptions, the sounds ര് and റ് [10] appear so much interchanged as to suggest. that by this time റ്[9] had acquried the value of a trill. This trill value is given to റ്[9] not only in colloquial speech today, but also in the evaluation of short റ്[9] when old texts are read.

1. dental n and alveolar na
2. agastyasūtra
3. līlātilakaṃ
4. "maṟṟē" is used by agastya in his sūtra
5. the sound ṟṟa
6. tolkāppiyanār
7. ra and that of long ṟa
8. ṟṟa
9. ṟa
10. ra and ṟa

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

The Tamil *grammatical tradition* however, still continues to ignore this change in the value of റ്[1]. This old tradition is absent in Malayalam, where from the earliest known times, short റ്[1] had the value of a palato -cerebal trill and ററ്[2] that of a long alveolar surd.

From the point of view of ലീലാതിലകം[3], therefore, there is need to distinguish the character of റ് from that of ററ്[4].

II. 8

This sutra states that " (naturalised) Sanskrit words are ment with everywhere (i.e bothe in കാവ്യs and in സാമാന്യവ്യവഹാര[5]" " the vritti in elaborating it says that (i) since the use of the particle 'തു' in this സൂത്ര indicates അന്യഥാത്വലക്ഷണ[6] with reference to the സംസ്കൃതീകൃത[7] forms of the preceding സൂത്ര[8], this rule postulates that ഭാഷീകൃതസംസ്കൃതം[9] words occur notonly in Kavyas but also in ordinary conversation, unlike samskrtikrta bhasa forms found only in Kavyas (as stated already), (ii) this bhasikarana of Sanskrit words may occur in several ways, and (iii) suddhasamkrta forms occur only in Kavyas but not in ordinary conversation.

The process of ഭാഷീകരണ[10] proceeds along lines like the following : (i) the use of Sanskrit bases or nominative as ഭാഷാ[11] bases in ഭാഷാ[11] contexts with the inflexional (and conjugational) endings of ഭാഷാ[11];

(ii) the Shortening of the endings ആ, ഊ and ഈ [12]of Sanskrit feminine bases (except monosyllabics).

(iii) the adaptation of Sanksrit bases with ഭാഷാ[11] endings as in ബാണം, ശംഖ് and മനം[13];

---

1. ṟa 2. ṟṟa
3. līlātilakam 4. ṟa from that of ṟṟa
5. kāvya and in sāmānyavyavahāra
6. tu in this sūtra anyathātvalakṣaṇa
7. saṃskṛtīkṛta 8. sūtra
9. bhāṣīkṛta saṃskṛta
10. bhāṣīkaraṇa
11. bhāṣā
12. ā, ū and ī
13. bāṇaṃ, śaṅkh and manaṃ

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

(iv) the embodiment of Sanksrit bases, or those adapted from Sanskrit, in compounds governed by the rules of ഭാഷാസന്ധി[1] relating to the doubling of the initial sounds of the second constituents.

It would be clear from the above that the term ഭാഷീകൃതസംസ്കൃത[2] includes സംസ്കൃതരൂപ[3] and, that it further envisages Sanskrit words (used in Malayalam) like മധു and വാരി[4] where the process of ഭാഷീകരണ[5] arises from their being used in ഭാഷാ[6] contexts with ഭാഷാ[6] endings or in ഭാഷാ[6] compounds.

The purpose of the present സൂത്ര[7] is to distinguish, from ശുദ്ധസംസ്കൃത[8] words, all those Sanskrit primaries which have attaines 'ഭാഷാത്വ[9]', i.e become naturalised, as members of ഭാഷാ[6]. This ഭാഷാത്വ[9] is conferred, as the വൃത്തി[10] shows, by the ഭാഷാ[6] endings and by the association, with those primaries, of phonological and morphological freatures special to ഭാഷാ[6] of also the following observation in the വൃത്തി[10] to. 1, I 'വിഭക്തിഭംഗേ ഭാഷാസംയുക്തസംസ്കൃതം ഭാഷാഭൂയമാപദ്യതേ, ഭാഷാത്വപ്രതീതേരുദ്രേകാത[11]'

The emphasis on ഭാഷാത്വ[8] illustrates the recognation by Lilatilakam of the essentiality of the difference between ഭാഷ[6] and സംസ്കൃത[12] in spite of its approval of the general proposition that Sanskrit is the source of all other speeches.

A very significant feature revealed by the vrtti is that these ഭാഷീകൃതസംസ്കൃത[13] words were used inthe conversational language of the people, while neither the Sanskritised Malayalam forms nor the suddha Samskrta forms (i.e Sanskrit words with Sanskrit affixes) were current in the collquial. These latter types never penetrated into theo language - consciousness of the Malayalam - speaking people, but

1. bhāṣāsandhi
2. bhāṣīkṛta saṃskṛta
3. saṃskṛtarūpa
4. madhu, vāri
5. bhāṣīkaraṇa
6. bhāṣā
7. sūtra
8. śuddhasaṃskṛta
9. bhāṣātva
10. vṛtti
11. "vibhakti bhāgē bhāṣā saṃyukta saṃskṛtaṃ bhāṣābhūyamāpadyatē, bhāṣātvapratītērundrēkāta "
12. saṃskṛta
13. bhāṣīkṛta saṃskṛt

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

remained outside the pale of the colloquial. On the other hand, the infuence of Sanskrit really made itself felt on the vocabulary of the masses through the dissemination of bhasikrtasamskrta words. In the course of later centuries. this use in Malayaḷam vocabulary of bhasikrta samskrta words has, far from showing and signs of decline, only gained in strength and in popularity.

II. 4, 5, 8

A systematic discussion of the Indo - aryan elements in Tamil - Malayalam, detailing the circumstances in which the borrowings were made, has so far not been attempted. The so -called തത്സമ[1] which inMalayalam would comprehend, borrowals made (without changes in the പ്രകൃതി[2]) of OIA words at different periods, will have to be distinguished from the 'തത്ഭവ[3]' which are constituted of words borrowed at different periods from OIA with changes, and from MIA with or with out changes. While Malayalam in the course of its history has gone on borrowing തത്സമ[1] from OIA, the MIA elements of Malayalam are mainly those which it has inherited from a common 'parent stage' which came under the influence of MIA speeches (particularly of Buddhists and of Jains).

One might compare words like the following with the corresponding MIA bases (collected from Pischel's Grammatik der Prakta - sprachen and MIA glossaries) shown below within brackets: അക്കി(അഗ്ഗി), അച്ചൻ(അജ്ജ), അമച്ചൻ(അമച്ച), ആശാൻ and ആശാരി(ആചാരിയ), ആതിച്ചൻ(ആദിച്ച),ഏണി and ചേണി(സേണി), കണം moment ഖണ, കച്ചം arrangement regulation (കജ്ജ) OIA കാര്യ cf.Kann. കജ്ജ), കാരം(ഖാര), കുപ്പായം(കുപ്പാസ), കേമം(ഖേമ), കോട്ടി assembly (ഗൊട്ഠീ), കൊക്കരണി(പൊക്ഖരണീ) ചങ്ങല(സംകലം), ചപ്പ്(സപ്ഫ), ചാരം(ഛാര), ചിരി as in ചിരിദേവി(സിരി), ചുങ്കം(സുംക), ചുണ്ണാമ്പ്[4]

---

1. tatsama
2. prakṛti
3. tatbhava
4. akki (aggi), accan (ajja), amaccan (amacca), āśān, āśāri (ācāriya), āticcan (ādicca), ēṇi and cēṇi (sēṇi), kaṇaṃ (moment), khaṇa, kaccaṃ "arrangement", "regulation", kajja, kārya, jja, kāraṃ (khāra), kuppāyaṃ (kuppāsa), kēmaṃ (khēma), kōṭṭi "assembly" (goṭṭhī), kokkaraṇi (pokkharaṇī), caṅṅala (saṅkalā), capp (sappha), cāraṃ (chāra), ciri ciridēvi (siri), cuṅkaṃ (suṅka), cuṇṇānp (suṇṇa),

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

(സുണ്ണ), ചുക്ക(സുക്ക), ചെട്ടി(സെട്ഠി), ചാമം(ജാമ), ചിളോകം(സിലോഗ), ചിങ്ങം(സിംഘ), ചേട്ടൻ(ജേട്ഠ), ജോഗിയാർ(ജോഗി), തച്ചൻ Carpenter (തച്ഛഗ), തമ്പലം(തംബൊല), the feminine suffix തി, (ഥി, ഇത്ഥ), നിച്ചം(നിച്ചി), പരിശു manner, state (ഫരിസി, പക്കം(പക്ഖ), പളിങ്ങു (ഫളിഹ), പന്തി(പഠതി), പുളയ്ക്ക-(ഫുളു, OIA സ്പുട്-), രായരൻ(രായാ), രക്കംപോകും(രക്കാ), വക്കാണം(വക്ഖാണ), വട്ടം(വട്ടി), ശരി(സരി), വങ്കൻ(വംക, OIA വക്ര), സുന്ന(സുന്ന, OIA ശൂന്യ). വൈര(ക്കല്ലു) (വഇര), ലോക്യം(ലോഗിയ), മശാനം(മശാണ), ആണ(ആണാ), കമ്മാളർ(കമ്മാര), ജോസ്യം(ജോഇസ), കുമര and കുമരി (for the shortening of the penultimate vowel, കുമര and കുമരി)[1].

While the relationship to MIA is more or less clear in respect of the above words, some influence of MIA may have to be thought of inthe case of words like the following also: കമ്മൾ < കമ്മി-കൾ, ചമ്മണം and ചപ്പളം(സ്മണ or സമ്മണ[2] with consonanta lengthening the accented syllable).

II, 1 to 5 and 8.

It would be intersting to contrast the classification made by Lilatilakam of the elements of the vocabulary of the ഭാഷാ[3] portion of മണിപ്രവാള[4], with that made by തൊൽക്കാപ്പിയം[5] of the vocabularial elements of Tamil ചെയ്യുൾ[6].

Tolkappiyam no where recognizes a Sanskritic origin for Tamil; and all the early commentarians of this work regard those വട ചൊൽ[7] or Indoaryan words which are used in Tamil ചെയ്യുൾ[6] (whether

---

1. cukk (sukka), ceṭṭi (seṭṭhi), cāmaṃ (jāma), ciḷōkaṃ (silōgi), ciṅṅaṃ (siṅgha), cēṭṭan (jēṭṭha), jōgiyār (jōgi), taccan carpenter (tacchagi), tanpalaṃ (tambola), The feminine suffix ti (thi, ittha), niccaṃ (nicci), pariśu "manner", "state" (pharisi, pakkaṃ (pakkha), paḷiṅṅu (phaḷiha), panti(paṭhati), puḷaykka-(phuḷa, sputṭ), rāyaran (rāyā), rakkāpōkaṃ (rakkā), vakkāṇaṃ (vak khāṇa), vaṭṭaṃ (vaṭṭi, śari (sari), vaṅkan (vaṅka, vakra), sunna (sunna, śūnya), vairakkall, vaira, lōkyaṃ (lōgiya), maśānaṃ (maśāṇa), āṇa (āṇā), kammāḷar (kammāra), jōsyaṃ (jō isa), kumara and kumari
2. kammaḷ < kammi-kaḷ, cammaṇaṃ and cappaḷaṃ (samaṇa or sammaṇa)
3. bhāṣā
4. maṇiprāvāḷa
5. tolkāppiyaṃ
6. ceyyuḷ
7. vaṭacol

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

in a modified or unmedifed state), as importations in to Tam. from skt and MIA-This is clear from the rules of തൊൽക്കാപ്പിയം[1] regarding വടചൊൽ[2] and from the references to വടചൊൽ[2] made by some of the earlier commentarians.

Another point to be noted in this connection is that Tamil ചെയ്യുൾ[3] was composed only with the aid of തമിഴെഴുത്ത്[4] and never with the aid of the sounds peculiar ആരിയഎഴുത്ത്[5]; the borrowings and adaptations of sanskrit words in Tamil ചെയ്യുൾ[3] were either those which could be represented in Tamil with the same symbols in which they appeared in Sanskrit (i. e പൊതുവെഴുത്തു[6] or of symbols common to Tamil and Sanskrit) or those showing structural changes in the process of adaptation of unique Sanskrit sounds to Tamil.

All IA loans in Tamil ചെയ്യുൾ[3] would therefore fall under one or other of these two categories. To the former type would belong words like വാരി, മേരു and ചിരതരം[7], - words which have been described by Lilatilakam (in the course of the analysis in I, II of the features of Malayalam പാട്ട്[8]) as 'സ്വതോ ദ്രമിഡസംഘാതാത്മകം സംസ്കൃതം[9],' To the later would belong all adaptations, showing structural and semantic changes, this group being konwn as ആരിയച്ചി തൈവു[10] in Tamil.

So far as native Tamil words are concerned, the classification of Tolkappiyam comprehends three types ഇയറ്ചൊൽ, തിരിചൊൽ and തിചൈച്ചൊൽ[11] while the ദേശി[12] group of Lilatilakam has three sub-divisions, based on other perspectives: ശുദ്ധദേശീ, ഭാഷാന്തരസമ and ഭാഷാന്തരഭവ[13].

---

1. tolkāppiyaṃ
2. vaṭacol
3. ceyyuḷ
4. tamiḻeḻutt
5. ārya eḻutt
6. potu eḻutt
7. vāri, mēru and cirataraṃ
8. pāṭṭ
9. "vatō dramiḍa saṅghātātmakaṃ saṃskṛtaṃ"
10. āriyaccitaivu
11. iyaṟcol, tiricol and ticaiccol
12. dēśī
13. suddhadēśī, bhāṣāntara sama and bhāṣāntarabhava

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

The classification of the ഭാഷാ[1] elements (of മണിപ്രവാള[2]) in Lilatilakam is thus adapted to the special conditions of Malayalam in which the dominant influence of Sanskrit had brought in its wake the use of ആര്യഎഴുത്തു[3] for the representation of Sanskrit words, and the development of new literary forms and conventions.

As for പാട്ടു[4] which represents in Malayalam the direct lineal descendant of Tamil ചെയ്യുൾ[5], Lilatilakam refers to features like 'ദ്രമിഡസംഘാതാക്ഷരനിബദ്ധം', 'ആരിയച്ചിതൈവു' 'ദ്രമിഡസംഘാതാത്മകം സംസ്കൃതം' 'മോന' 'എതുക'[6], the nine വികാര of ചെയ്യുൾ[7], and the use of older phonetic forms.*[7]

II, 9 and 10

The fourteenth century treastise, Lilatilakam, has, in its second silpa, sixteen sutras dealing with Malayalam inflexions, both nominal and verbal. Though the treatment is neither exhaustive nor even adequate in some respects, there are data which illuminate the past history of Malayalam. Here, as in other sections of the grammatical portion of the work, full recognition is accorded to the individuality of the west coast speech, even while the closeness of its affinities to Tamil is envisaged. It is the language of manipravala literature that is discussed, and therefore a number of purely traditionary forms come in for treatment; but the language of conversation and the living linguistic peculiarities of the malayalam of the fourteenth century are ignored. In a work dealing with the maṇipravala type of composition, the influence of Sankrit is admitted; but, refreshingly enough, in many places, the work rules out blind servility to the rules of Sanskrit syntax.In these sutras introducing the subject of Malayalam inflexions, the existence in Malayalam of eight cases, three genders and two numbers is stated.

---

1. bhāṣā
2. maṇipravāḷa
3. ārya eẕuttu
4. pāṭṭ
5. ceyyuḷ
6. "dramiḍa saṅghātākṣaranibandhaṃ", "āriyaccitaivu", "dramiḍa saṅghātātmakaṃ saṃskṛtaṃ", "mōna", "etuka"
7. vikāra of ceyyuḷ

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

The classification of the cases into eight types is Dravidian: cf. the rule of Tolkappiyan (the oldest extant grammar of Tamil): വിളി കൊൾവതൻകൺ വിളിയോടെട്ടേ[1] 'the cases number eight, along with the vocative'.

2. So far as the classification of genders and numbers is concerned, the one adopted in Lilatilakam does not correspond to the Tamil division of ഉയർതിണൈ[2] (group constituted of rational beings) and അയ്ത റിണൈ[3] (non-rationals including inanimates), ഉയർതിണൈ[2] itself being subdivided into ആൺപാൽ[4] (masculine singular). പെൺപാൽ[5] (feminine singular) and പലർപാൽ[6](rational plural), and അയ്തറിണൈ[3] having two sub-divisions ഒൻറൻപാൽ[7] (non-rational singular) and പല വിൻപാൽ[8] (non-rational plural).

This old classification of Tamil is, however, fundamental in Old Malayalam also, since the personal endings of Old Malayalam verb-forms (so far as these personal endings occur) evidence the distinctions in-herent in the old classification. Lilatilakam itself adverts to a feature of this old classification when it observes in the commentary on sutra 14 that the second case ending only optionally appears in forms denoting inanimates and irrationals.

II. 11

This is a fairly comperhensive sutra dealing with the morphology of Malayalam infiexions and offerring some observations on the syntax of cases.

1. The sutra states the names of the 'vibhaktis' referred to in the previous sutra and describes them as eight in number. "പേർ, എ, ഓട്, ക്ക്, നിൻറ്, ഉടെ, ഇൽ, വിളീത്യഷ്ടകം[9]". The commentary points out that while 'പേർ' and 'വിളി' in the sutra are 'ആർത്ഥൌ' the others are 'ശബ്ദാ:[10],

1. viḷikoḷvatan kaṇ viḷiyōṭeṭṭē
2. uyartiṇai
3. aitaṟiṇēy
4. āṇpāl
5. peṇpāl
6. palarpāl
7. onṟan pāl
8. palavin pāl
9. " pēr, e, ōṭ, kk, ninṟ, uṭe, viḷītyaṣṭakaṃ "
10. pēr and viḷi in the sutra are ārtthau the others are śābdā:[1]

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

The form and the purpose of the Lilatilakam sutra may be compared to the Tolkappiyam ചൊല്ലധികാരം rule: "പെയർ, എ, ഒടു, ക, ഇൻ, അതു, കൺ, വിളിയെന്നും ഈററ[1]".

The Tolkappiyam rule has been interpreted by all Commentarians (except Teyvaciliaiyar) as giving the names of the 'vibhaktis' and there too 'പെയർ' and'വിളി[2]' have been taken as indicating the meanings.

2. 'The first' case is the 'പ്രാതിപദിക[3]' and it is called 'പേർ[4]', says the commentary. Here one may recall Chenavaraiyar's interpretation of the Tolkappiyam rule: 'അവററുൾ എഴുവായ്‌വേററുമൈ പെയർ തോൻറുനിലൈയേ[5]'.

3. The Malayalam second case ending ഇ[6] is marked off in the commentary from Tamil ഐ[7], and the augments in forms like മരത്തെ, മരത്തിനെ, ആനയെ[8] etc. are pointed out as corresponding to Tamil 'ചാരിയൈ[9]'.

(a) Very Interesting syntactical observation follow. The force of the second caseending of Malayalam is to introduce the ideas of നിർവ്വർത്ത്യ, വികാര്യം, പ്രാപ്യ[10] and not to denote 'space' and 'duration of time' not are second case forms dependent upon 'ഉപപദ[11]'.

Conceivable Malayalam usages like ദിവസത്തെ നിൻറാൻ[12] (Where duration of time is denoted by the second case form), and നേത്രത്തെ കുരുളേയും നടുവേ ചില്ലി[13] 'the eye brow between the eyes and the curls' (where the second case forms നേത്രത്തെ and കുരുളെ[14] are made dependent upon നടുവേ[15] in imitation fo Sanskrit usages like those where the indeclinable അന്തരാ[16] governs second case forms) are disapproved.

---

1. "peyar, ai, oṭ, ku, in, atu, kaṉ, viḷiyennuṃ īṟṟa"
2. peyar and viḷi
3. prātipadika 4. pēr
5. "avaṟṟuḷ eẕuvāy vēṟṟutai peyartōnṟunilaiyē " 6. ai
7. e 8. maratte, marattine, ānaye 9. cāriyai
10. nirvvartthya, vikāryaṃ prāpya
11. upapada 12. divasatte ninṟān
13. nētratte karuḷēyuṃ naṭuvē cilli 14. nētratte and karuḷe
15. naṭuvē
16. antara

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

Similarly, the commentary points out the unsuitability in Malayalam of a construction like ഗ്രാമത്തെ ആവസിക്കുന്റേറാൻ[1] where (in imitation of Sanskrit) the verb ആവസിക്കുന്റേറാൻ[2] governs a second case form.

(b) The terms*[8] 'നിർവ്വർത്ത്യ', 'വികാര്യ' and 'പ്രാപ്യ[3]' associated with the second case object, are used by Sanskrit trestises and adapted in Tamil by some of the Tamil commentarians of Tolkappiyam. Both ചേനാവരൈയർ and നച്ചിനാർക്കിനിയർ[4] use more or less the same languages: "ഇയററപ്പടുവതും, വേറുപടുക്കപ്പടുവതും, എയ്തപ്പടുവതും, എനച്ചെയ്യപ്പടുപൊരുൾ മൂൻറാം[5]".

The seventeenth century പ്രയോഗവിവേക[6] points out the resemblance in the following terms:

"ഇനി വാക്യപദീയത്തുള്ളം, കൈയടത്തുള്ളും, നിർവർത്തിയം, വികാരിയം, പിരാപ്പിയം എനിക്കൂറിയവണ്ണം ചേനാവരൈയർ മുതലായിനോർ ഇയററപ്പടുവതും വേറുപടുക്കപ്പടുവതും എയ്തപ്പടുവതും എനച്ചെയ്യപ്പടുപ്പൊരുളൈ മൂൻറാക്കുവർ.... നന്നൂലാരും ആക്കൽ, അഴിതൽ അടൈതൽ ചൈനേന്ദ്രൻ മതം പററി പലവാക്കുവർ[7]".

4. The third case endings of Malayalam are ഓട്[8](the only one mentioned in the sutra but referred to in the commentary as 'ഉപലക്ഷണ[9]' and ആൽ[10], and the past position കൊണ്ട്[11](the two latter mentioned by the commentary).

(a) The observation of the commentary that in third case forms like അവനെക്കൊണ്ട്[12] the എ[13] is not a second case ending, but only a

---

1. gramatte āvasikkunṟōn
2. āvasikkunṟōn
3. nirvvartthya, vikārya and prāpya
4.cēnāvaraiyar and naccinārkkiniyar
5. "iyaṟṟappaṭuvatuṃ, vēṟupaṭukkappaṭuvatuṃ, ēytappaṭuvatuṃ, enacceyya ppaṭuporuḷ mūnṟāṃ "
6. prayōgavivēka
7. " ini vākyapadīyattuḷḷaṃ, kaiyaṭattuḷḷuṃ, nirvarttiyaṃ, vikāriyaṃ, pirāppiyaṃ enakkūṟiyavaṇṇaṃ cēnāvaraiyar mutalāyinōr iyaṟṟappaṭuvatuṃ vēṟupaṭukkappaṭuvatuṃ eytappaṭuvatuṃ enacceytappaṭupporuḷai mūnṟākkuvar... nannūlāruṃ ākkal, azital aṭaital cainēndran mataṃ paṟṟi palavākkuvar "
8. ōṭ 9. upalakṣaṇa 12. avanekkoṇṭ 13. e
10. āl 11. koṇṭ

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

സന്ധായക[1], has to be understood as implying that in third case forms like there, the third case meaning alone is important and that the element എ preceding കൊണ്ട്[2] need not be isolated as being originally the second case ending.

(b) While ഓട് and ആൽ[3] are equally important as third case endings in Malayalam, why is ഓട്[4] alone mentions in the sutra and then described in the commentary as an ഉപലക്ഷണ[5]? I suspect that the model of the Tolkappiyam Colladigaram sutra which mentions only ഒടു[6] as the third case ending for Tamil though ഓട് and ആൽ[3] were both current, might have influenced the author of Lilatilakam who (be it observed here) was a keen student of this Old Tamil grammer and some of its earlier commentaries. It is noteworthy that later Tamil grammars like വീരചോഴിയം, നേമിനാതം and നന്നൂൽ[7] mention both ഒടു(and ഓടു) and ആൽ (and ആൻ)[8] as equally important (in the sutras themselves).

(c) ഓട്, with long ഓ[9], is the common form in Malayalam, though ഒടു[6] appears occasionally in poetry. The thirteenth century നേമി നാതം[10] expressly refers to ഓട് as a development of ഒടു[11]

(d) In Old Tamil, both ഒടു and ആൽ[12] appear to have induced the signification of 'agency', instrumentality' and 'association'. Some kind of differentiation of functions may have laready started in the Old Tamil period. In later periods, the former seems to have become restricted more and more to 'associatiion' (and allied meanings), while the latter (with its variant ആൽ[13]) generally signified 'agency' and instrumentality'.

---

1. sandhaāyaka
2. e preceding koṇṭ
3. ōṭ and āl
4. ōṭ
5. upalakṣaṇa
6. oṭu
7. vīracōẕiyaṃ, nēminātaṃ, nannūl
8. oṭu, oṭu and āl and ān
9. ōṭ with long ō
10. nēminātaṃ
11. ōṭ as a development of oṭu
12. oṭu and āl
13. āl

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

In Malayalam this differentiation of functions become common at a very early stage, though rare poetic instances exist like വേദിയരാൽ വേദങ്കൊണ്ടിടഞ്ഞു[1] (where ആൽ[2] is used with the meanings of 'association') and കടലോടു പോയാർ[3] (where ഓട്[4] has the force of ആൽ[2]) cited by Gundert from പയ്യനൂർ പാട്ട്[5].

(e) Malayalam appears to have developed the special signification of വിയോഗ[6] for ഓട്[4] - a meaning is common in Tamil only for the fifth case ending. In old Malayalam texts like Dutavakyam, constructions like ലജ്ജയോടു വേറുപട്ട്, സന്താപത്തോടു വേറായി, and ചേതനയോടു പിരിഞ്ഞ്[7], are quite common, though these have reused to be popular today. Though the influence of Sanskrit is possible in the popularising of the use of the third case ending in connection with വിയോഗ[6], it may have had essentially a Dravidian origin.

Just in the same manner as the third case is prescribed by Tolkappiyam for what it calls ഒപ്പലൊപ്പുരൈ[8] in instances involving absence of resemblance, as in പൊന്നോടിരുമ്പനൈയർനിന്നോടുപിറരേ[9], so too. absence of accompaniment may have been connected with the third case.

5. The fourth case endings of Malayalam are those in അവൾക്കു, and അന്ന്, ഇന്ന് as in അവന്ന്, അതിന്ന്[10].

(a) അന്ന് and ഇന്ന്[11] are 'false' isolations of the Malayalam fourth, case ending appearing after nouns and pronouns with the 'rational singular ന്[12], as the final or after nouns embodying the augment ഇന്[13]

1. vēdiyarāl vēdaṅkoṇṭiṭaññu
2. āl
3. kaṭalōṭu pōyār
4. oṭu
5. payyanūr pāṭṭ
6. viyōga
7. lajjayōṭu vēṟupaṭṭ, santāpattōṭu vēṟāyi and cētanaōṭu piriññ
8. oppaloppurai
9. ponnōṭirunnapanaiyar ninnōṭu piṟarē
10. in avaḷkku and ann, inn as in avann, atinn
11. ann and inn
12. n
13. in

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

Really, here, after the old ക്[1] has been lost, Malayalam had, to start with, a സംവൃത ഉ[2] in which in the course of the history of Malayalam became opened out to എ[3]

2. The elements അന്ന് and ഇന്ന്[4] it what Lilatilakam isolates as അന്ന് and ഇന്ന്[4] do not really belong to the fourth case ending.

(b) The imitation in Malayalm of the Sanskrit use of fourth case forms as 'objects' of verb-bases like കുപ്[5] is disapproved by the commentary. A Malayalam construction like കാന്തന്ന് കോപിക്കിൻറതു കാന്ത[6] is pointed out as incongruous for Malayalam.

6. The commentary points out that Malayalam has for the fifth case, the endings, ഇൽനിൻറു, മേൽനിൻറു, പക്കൽനിൻറു and എൽനിൻറു[7].

(a) The commentary expresses disapproval of Malayalam imitations of the Sanskrit use of fifth case forms as 'objects' of verbs denoting learning and fearing as in constructions like അവൻകൽ നിൻറു പയററി ('learnt from him') and പുലിയിൻകൽനിൻറു പേടിച്ചു[8].

So far as verbs denoting 'fear' are concerned,. the oldest, Tamil grammar allows for 'such verb-form,s the use of objects both in the second case and in the fifth case. Not only is അഞ്ചൽ[9] fearing mentioned in the sutras dealing with verb-ideas governing the second ans fifth cases, but the alternative governemtn of the second or fifth case forms is expressly pointed out in the special sutrain the chapter on the merging of case.

In Malayalam itself, old texts show instances of constructions like ചക്രത്തിങ്കൽനിന്നു ഭയപ്പെട്ട്[10]- where the verb denoting 'fear' governs a fifth case object.

---

1. k
2. saṃvṛtā u
3. e
4. annu and innu
5. kup
6. kāntannu kōpikkinṟatu kānta
7. ilninṟu, mēlninṟu, pakkal ninnaṟu and elninṟu
8. avankal ninṟupayaṟṟi and puliyinkalninṟu pēṭiccu
9. añcal
10. cakrattiṅkalninnu bhayappeṭṭ

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

(b) So far as verbs denoting learning are concerned, constructions like അവന്റെ അടുക്കൽ പഠിച്ചു and അവന്റെ അടുക്കൽനിന്ന് പഠിച്ചു[1] are both common today, the former adverting to the teacher from whom a general course of instruction has been received and the later to the person from whom a particular piece of instruction has been derived.

c) ഏൽനിന്നു[2] contains the element ഏൽ[3], which appears in forms like കൊമ്പേൽ (ultimately from കൊമ്പിൻമേൽ[4]) This ഏൽ appears already in tenth century inscriptions പുരൈയിടത്തേൽ[5] (TAS).

(d) Beside കാട്ടിൽ[6], Malayalam also had കാൾ[7] to denote comparison. These post-postions are used after second case forms: -കമലത്തെക്കാട്ടിൽ[8] in വൃത്തി[9] to II II, and ആർങ്ങാവേക്കാൾ in U.S. II, 13; but പണ്ടേതിൽക്കാൾ in U.S., II 68; and അതിൽക്കാൾ[10] in Bhg, 1, 17, show the use of കാൾ[7] after the seventh case.

7. The commentary refers to sixth case endings 'ഉടെ-ഇടെ,-ടെ and ന്ന്[11]'

(a) For the history of the first three, see my EMM.

(b) The mention of -ന്ന്[12] (which in origin is the Malayalam fourth case ending of words with final -ന് or the augment -ഇന്[13]- mentioned above) calls for comment.

The use of the fourth case ending for denoting a sixth case signification when 'ഉയർതിണൈ[14]' nouns are qualified by the sixth case forms is already laid down in Tolkappiyam, which ancient work, however, does not say anywhere that കു[15] is a sixth case ending. This use in adverted in the chapter on വേററുമൈ മയങ്കിയൽ[16], dealing with the merging of cases and significations.

---

1. avanṟe aṭukkal paṭhiccu and avanṟe aṭukkal ninn paṭhiccu
2. ēlninnu
3. ēl
4. konpēl- konpinmēl
5. puraiyiṭattēl
6. kāṭṭil
7. kāḷ
8. kamalattekkāṭṭil
9. vṛtti
10. ārṅṅāvēkkāḷ, paṇṭētilkkāḷ, atilkkāḷ
11. -uṭe, -iṭe, -ṭe, and -nn
12. nn
13. n or the augment in
14. uyartiṇai
15. ku
16. vēṟṟumai mayaṅkīya

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

In the commentary on the seventh sutra of വേററുമൈപ്പടലം of വീരചോഴിയം,പെരുന്തേവനാർ refers to 'കു'[1] as having a sixth case meaning, only when it is a 'കാരക'; "ആറാംവേററുമൈ കാരകമാകു മ്പൊഴുതു 'കു' എന്നും പിരത്തിയമൊൻേറവരും.... പിരകിരുതിക ളിൻപിൻപു 'കു' എന്നും നാലാം വേററുമൈപ്പിരത്തിയം വരുവിത്തു... കാര കപതമാക്കിക്കിരിയാപതത്തോടും കൂട്ടി 'ച്ചാത്തനുക്ക് മകനാനാൻ' എന മുടിക്ക"[2, *9]

The grammer നേമിനാതം[3] does not refer to കു[4] as a sixth case ending. നന്നൂൽ[5], even while referring to the use of the affix ക്[6] instead of the sixth case ending, doesnot rgard ക്[6] as a sixth case ending.

Nor do the commentarians of Tolkappiyan (except perhaps ഇളമ്പൂരണർ[7]) interpret the Colladigaram sutra in such a way as to suggest that ക്[6] is a sixth case ending. Their interpretation is that a sixth case compound like നമ്പി മകൻ[8] would if resolved become നമ്പിക്കു ആകിയ മകൻ[9]. This interpretation was due to the feeling that sixth cas compounds like നമ്പിക്കു മകൻ[10] were not very common in Tamil, but that gererally usage sanctioned only constructions like നമ്പിക്കാകിയ മകൻ or നമ്പിക്കു മകനാകിയോൻ[11].

But already from a fairly early eriod, compounds like നമ്പിക്കു മകൻ and പിണിക്ക് മരുന്തും as in പിണിക്ക് മരുന്തു.[12] പിറ of കുറൾ[13], where പിണിക്ക് relates to മരുന്തു[14] with a sixth case relationship, were common.It is not surprising, therefore, that came to be regarded by some as a 'sixth case' ending itself.

---

1. vēṟṟumaippaṭalaṃ of vīracōẕiyaṃ, pēruntēvanār refers to ku
2. kāraka : " āṟāṃvēṟṟumai karakamākunpoẕutu ku ennuṃ pirattiya monṟēvaruṃ.... pirakirutikaḷinpinpu ku ennuṃ nālāṃ vēṟṟu maippirattiyaṃ varuvittu... kārakapatamākkikkiriyāpatattōṭuṃ kūṭṭi ccāttanukku makanānān ena muṭikka "
3. nēminātaṃ
4. ku
5. nannūl
6. k
7. iḷanpūraṇar
8. nanpi makan
9. nanpikku ākiya makan
10. nanpikku makan
11. nanpikkākiya makan or nanpikku makanākiyōn
12. piṇikku maruntuṃ as in piṇikku marunnatu
13. piṟa of kuṟaḷ
14. piṇikk relates to marunnatu

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

The correspondence of Sanskrit constructions like രാമസ്യ പു:ത്രാസ്തി to ഇരാമനക്കുപ്പുതൽവരളൻ[1] may also have contributed to the feeling that ക്[2] in forms like these may be regarded as a sixth case ending.

So far as Malayalam is concerned, Lilatilakam regards it both as a forth case ending and as sixth case ending. Balaprabodham (written at a later period, for Malayali students of Sanskrit) Pointedly refers to ക്[2] exclussively as 'sixth case' ending, the fourth case ending being (in its opinion) only ആയിക്കൊണ്ട് ('ഇക്കുമിന്നുമുടെ ഷഷ്ഠിക്ക്)[3].

Instances like പാരിന്ന് നാഥൻ പരീക്ഷിത്ത്[4] also do occur in Malayalam, where പാരിന്ന്[5] is related to നാഥൻ[6] and not to the predicate.

(c) Constructions in Malayalam like കാണെകക്കുപോയി[7] went, though (or) while others were observing, in mitation of Sanskrit genitive absoulute constructions, are condemned by the commentary.

Similarly, constructions in Malayalam like മരങ്ങളുടെ മാവ്[8] the mango tree among the trees, in imitation of the Sanskrit use of the ഷഷ്ഠി forms for നിർദ്ധാരണ[9], are also condemned by the commentary.

8. Seventh case endings are ഇൽ, ഇലേ, മേൽ, കൽ[10]

(a) Now ഇലേ (as illustrated in അവന്-ഇല്-ഏ-സ്നേഹം[11]) is acutally compounded of the locative ending ഇല് and എ[12] which was a terminative expletive in the older stages of the language but which came to have a qualificatory value in forms like കാട്ടിലേ in കാട്ടിലേ ആന[13] the elephant of the forest, qulifying the nouns immediately following.

1. rāmasya putrōsti to irāmanakku pputalvanaḷan
2. k
3. āyikkoṇṭ (ikkuminnumuṭe ṣaṣṭhikk)
4. pārinn nāthan parīkṣitt
5. pārinn
6. nāthan
7. kāṇēkkupōyī
8. maraṅṅaḷuṭe māv
9. ṣaṣṭhi forms for nirddhāraṇa
10. il, ilē, mēl, kal
11. ilē, avan- il- ē- snēhaṃ
12. il and e
13. kāṭṭilē in kāṭṭilē āna

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

(b) The suggestion in KP, P. 179, that കൽ[1], one of the seventh case endings in Malayalam, is possibly derived from കൺ[2], the Tamil locative post postion, is not supported by the available inscriptional evidence. Which points to Tamil കാൽ[3] a locative post position, having been the original of Malayalam കൽ:-കോയിൽക്കാൽ[4, *10] (at the temple) in tenth century inscriptions: (TAS, IV, P.15, 1. 19) ചിറുവാതിൽക്കാൽ[5] (ib., II, p. 81), which form in later inscriptions becomes കോയിൽക്കൽ or കോയിക്കൽ[6] (TAS, IV, P. 46. 1. 1, -a twelfth century inscription).

(c) Locative absolute constructions in Malayalam (in imitation of Sanskrit usage) like ഉദിക്കിൻറ ആദിത്യനിൽപിറൻറാൻ[7] "he was born, while the sun was rising," are condemned by the commentary.

9. The eighth case endings are, according to the commentary, 'ആ, ഈ, ഊ and ഏ, as in മാധവാ, നമ്പീ, ചാരൂ, ഇവനേ, ഇവളേ, മരമേ, വടിയേ[8].

(a) Among the forms mentioned in the commentary, മാധവാ, നമ്പീ and മരമേ, വടിയേ[9] (the lase two show the ഏ- ending used for അയ്ത റിണൈ[10] vocatives, according to Tolkappiayam) follow Old Tamil rules ഉയിർതിണൈ[11] nouns with lip-rounded ഉ[12] were very rare in Old Tamil; While vocatives for pronouns like ഇവൻ, ഇവൾ[13] did not exist.

(b) The list in the commentary is but a summary one. Instances of other Malayalam vocatives occurring in th citations of the commentary are നങ്ങേ (Tamil നങ്കായ്), തോഴരേ, അമ്മേ, തൃക്കാരിയൂർ അണ്ണലേ[14]. None of these cae be justified by Tolkappiyam rules. Nor can vocatives

---

1. kal
2. kaṇ
3. kāl
4. kal - kōyilkkāl
5. ciṟuvātilkkāl
6. kōyilkkal or kōyikkal
7. udikkinṟa ādityanil piṟantān
8. ā, ī, ū, ē as in mādhavā, nanpī, cārū, ivanē, ivaḷē, maramē, vaṭiyē
9. mādhavā, nanpī and maramē, vaṭiyē
10. aytaṟiṇai
11. uyirttiṇai
12. u
13. ivan, ivaḷ
14. naṅṅē (Tamil naṅkāy), tōẕarē, ammē, tṛkkāriyūr aṇṇalē

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

like ശ്രേഷ്ഠന്മാരേ and ധർമ്മജ്ഞനായൊള്ളോരെ[1] of the fourteenth century Dutavakyam be supported by Tolkappiam rules.

(c) In the commentary on the fourth sutra of the fourth silpa, the vocatives ചന്ദ്രനേ and നരേന്ദ്രനേ[2] are conservatively condemned, though it must be said that instances like these with the affix ഏ[3] tacked on to words with the final rational singular ending -ന്[4] are common bothin Middle Tamil and in Malayalam, even when such nouns are not 'മുറൈപ്പെയർ[5].

Indeed, while in Old Tamil (according to the rule in the chapter on vocativesin Tolkappiyam) the vocatives of rational·masculine singulars (wth-ന്[4]) took on ഏ[3] only when they were 'മുറൈപ്പെയർ[5]' or nouns denoting relationship, the practise appears to have been extended to other rational masculine singulars also in later periods. വീരചോഴിയം[6] (in its commentary on the eighth sutra of വേറ്റുമൈപ്പ ടലാ[7]) instances vocatives like ഇരാമനേ and മന്നനേ[8]. Middle Tamil texts like നാച്ചിയാർ തിരുമൊഴി have forms like ഉണർവാനേ, തുയിൽവാ നേ, കണ്ണനേ[9].

The thirteenth century grammar നേമിനാതം[10] also cites illustrations of vocatives like അയനേ, ചിവനേ, നളനേ, പരനേ[11] for ഉയർതിണൈ[12] nouns with-ന്[4]. The same grammar has അമ്മേ, അത്തേ[13], which also could not be supported by the rules of Tolkappiyam.

11, 12 and 13

These refer to compounds which, when expanded, would have sixth case and seventh case meanings.

---

1. śrēṣṭhanmārē and dharmmajñanāyoḷḷōyē
2. candranē and narēndranē   3. ē   4. n
5. muṭhaippeyar
6. vīracōẕiyaṃ
7. vēṟṟumaippaṭalaṃ
8. irāmanē and mannanē
9. nācciyār tirumoẕi have forms like uṇarvānē, tuyilvānē, kaṇṇanē
10. nēminātaṃ
11. ayanē, civanē, naḷanē, paranē
12. uyartiṇai
13. ammē, attē

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

II. 14

The Second case ending ഏ[1] is declared by this sutra to be optional for inanimate and non-rational nouns, "അചേതനേ തിരശ്ചി ചായം വികൽപ:[2]" and that for rationals the second case ending is obligatorily used.

This agrees with the Tamil rule implied the Tolkappyam in a sutra in the Togaimarabu portion of എഴുത്ത് "ഉയർതിണൈമരുങ്കിൻ ഒഴിയാത് വരുതലും[3]".

In modern Malayalam, however, the absence of the second case ending is usual only for the 'inanimates' and here this absence is not merely optional but so common among native speakers that one who fails to and the ending would at once he marked off as a foreigner.

11. 15 and 16

Sutra 15 mentions the three genders. masculine, (eminine and neuter) The next rule postulates that the femimine endings in words other than nouns is- ള്[4] . The commentary on sutra specially points out that the determination of gender in Malayalam is landed by sex and not by grammatical rules "അത്ര സ്ത്ര്യാദികം ലിംഗം ലൌകികം, ന പാരിഭാഷികം[5]".

11. 17

ഇ[6] is said to be the feminine affix for the conversion of nouns denoting caser, or of masculines. The commentary gives the illustratiors ചെട്ടിച്ചി and ശൂദ്രത്തി[7]. It must be observed that, so far as these illustrations are concerned, the original feminine - denoter may have been a prakritic-ത്തി (OIA-സ്ത്രീ[8]). Malayalam, however, has ഇ[6] as the feminine - converter in instances, like തോഴി, കിഴവി[9].

1. ē
2. " acētanē tiraści cāyaṃ vikalpa:"
3. " uyirtiṇai maruṅkin ōẕiyāt varutaluṃ "
4. ḷ
5. " atra styādikaṃ liṅgaṃ laukikaṃ, na pāribhāṣikaṃ "
6. i
7. ceṭṭicci and śaūdratti
8. tti (strī)
9. i- tōẕi, kiẕavi

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

11. 18

"ന്[1] is the masculine singular, ending, generally speaking". ' The commentary explais forms like തേനൻ, പുലിയൻ[2] (used as neuters)(as being due to masculinity being attributed to them ("പുംസ്ത്വാധ്യാരോപാത്"[3]).

11. 19 and 20

Sutra 19 envisages 'neuter singular -അമ്[4] and the next sutra refers to the neuter singular ending -ത്[5] of the demonstratives അതു, ഇതു and of the interrogative ഏത്[6] .

11. 21, 22

The number of nouns is dealth with in these. While singular nouns are instanced in the commentary on sutra 21. the next sutra lists plural endings of nouns as "-ര്, -കള്, -മാര്, -മര്, -വര്[7], generally speaking". The illustrations in the commentary for plurals are all rationals: ബ്രാഹ്മണർ, കവികൾ, നമ്പിമാർ, കാണ്മർ*[11], കൾവർ, വരുമവർ*[12], അവർ[8].

Then follow the observations "because of the use of the word പ്രായേണ in the sutra മരങ്ങൾ[9] etc. might also be mentioned. Here plurality also is associated wioth tress" ('അത്ര വൃക്ഷാദീനാം ബഹുത്വമപിഗമ്യതേ[10],') The special statement plurality is also associated with trees(I think) obliquely glances at the Tamil rule that for 'none-rationals' (like trees, for instance) the use of the plural കൾ ending is optional.

II. 23

This sutra postulates that the endings of gender and number appear as a rule for verb-forms also. The commentary indicate that sometimes personal endings did not appear for Malayalm finites.

1. n`
2. tēnan, puḷiyan
3. " pumstvādhyārōpāt"
4. am
5. tu
6. atu, ithu and the interrogative ēt
7. -r, - kaḷ, - mār, -mar, -var
8. brahāmaṇar, kavikaḷ, nanpimār, kāṇmar, kaḷvar, varumavar, avar
9. prāyēṇa in the sutras marańńaḷ
10. ' athra vaṛkṣādīnāṃ bahutvamapigamyatē '

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

11. 24

This sutra on verbs lays down that "verb forms are to be met with in 'വിധി' and 'പ്രാർത്ഥനാ[1]' and in the first, second and third persons, according to observation."

The commentary illustrations the facts of the sutra, and also expands them in certain ways, some of the illustrations as printed in the published text appear to have become mixed up and corrupted.

1. The illustrations for verbs denoting 'വിധി' and 'പ്രാർത്ഥനാ[1]' may be classified thus: (a) ചെൽവുതാവൂ[2] type. This is constituted of the Malayalm participle ചെൽവൂത്[3] and the Malayalm term-form ആവൂ (with final ഊ[4]). The force of 'വിധി[5]' is not only conferred by ആവൂ[6] but also implied in the 'non-rational' participial form which by itself is used in Old Malayalam texts to denote 'വിധി[5]'.

The type ചെൽവുതാവൂ[2] is a fairly early, west coast type. The earliest instance of a participial 'neuter' like ചെൽവൂത്[3, *13](for ചെൽവതു[7]) occurs in an eleventh century incriptions. Here the ഉ[8] is short, as it is in all forms of this kind in Unnunilisandasani (as eg.in വെൽവുതാക[9]).

For the type of ആവൂ[6], the earlist available west coast instances are ഊട്ടുവൂ and കൊടുപ്പൂ[10] (both of the thirteenth century). Both the type of ചെൽവൂത്[3](with ഉ instead of അ[11]) and that of ആവൂ[6] (with ഊ[4] as a final finite ending) are special developments of Malayalam.

(b) ചെൽവോനാക[12] - This is constituted of the third person rational singular participal noun, and the optative ആക[13]. The force of a gentle

1. vidhi and prārtthanā
2. celvūtāvū
3. celvūt
4. āvū with final ū
5. vidhi
6. āvū
7. celvatu
8. u
9. velvutāka
10. ūṭṭuvū and koṭuppū
11. with u instead of a
12. celvōnāka
13. āka

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

'വിധി' or 'പ്രാർത്ഥനാ[1]' (as the case may be) is associated with ആക[2] which originally was in Tamil a 'വിയങ്കോൾ[3]' (used only for third persons), but which in later stages was used for all persons and in Malayalam acquired as "imperatival" value.

This type of ചെൽവോനാക[4] is common is literary Tamil also. The personal variations, if desired, would be embodied in the first constituent, viz; the participal noun: പോവോയാക, പോവുതാക[5] etc. Cf. ചെൽവുതാക[6] of TAS, III, p.57 (eleventh century) and numerous forms like വസിപ്പോരാക[7] in the fourteenth century prose text Dutavakyam.

(c) ചെല്ലുവേണ്ടും, ചെല്ലേണം[8]-The type of ചെല്ലുവേണ്ടും of which ചെല്ലേണം[9] is a derivative, is a very old formation. Tolkappiyam has a special sutra dealing with the collocation ചെയൽ വേണ്ടും (closely connected with ചെയ്യൽ വേണ്ടും[10]); this sutra explains that വേണ്ടും[11] a transitive verb taking ചെയ്ൽ[12] as its object, may have as its subject the doer of the action of the verbal noun ('തൽപാലാനും[13]') or a diffrent person (പിറൻപാലാനും[14]) in which latter case the verbal noun would have the doer as its subject, while വേണ്ടും[11] would have a diffrent person as its subject. It is the latter type that has developed the imperatival meaning.

(d) ചെൽവിൻ[15] repersnets an old second person imperative type in Malayalam- The corresponding type in Tamil has - മിൻ[16] for its ending.

2. (a) The commentary then adverts to the first person singular ഏൻ[17] and the first person plural ഓമ് and എമ്[18]. The -എമ്[19] ending is very

1. vidhi and prārtthanā
2. āka
3. viyaṅkōḷ
4. celvōnāka
5. pōvōyāka, pōvūtāka
6. celvūtāka
7. vasippōrāka
8. celluvēṇṭuṃ, cellēṇaṃ,
9. cellāvēṇṭuṃ of which cellēṇaṃ
10. ceyal vēṇṭuṃ closely connected with ceyya vēṇṭuṃ
11. vēṇṭuṃ
12. ceyal
13. tanpālānuṃ
14. piṟanpālānuṃ
15. celvin
16. min
17. ēn
18. -ōm **and** - ēm
19. ēm

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

rare in Malayalam texts, While - ഓമ്[1] is the usual first person plural ending wherever it appears in Old Malayalam texts or inscriptions. ഓമ്[1] is not mentioned by Tolkappiyam; it becomes frequent in post - Sangam Tamil texts.

(b) For the second person tense-finites, the following personal endings are mentioned;

-ആ (യ്), as in വന്നാ[2] for the singular;

-ഓ (യ്) as in വന്നോ[3] for the singular;

-ഈര്, as in വന്നീര്[4] for the plural.

(i) The singular -ആ is the older -ആയ് with its final -യ്[5] elided. Forms with -ആ[6] apper in Ramacaritam, Unnunilisandesam, Dutavakayam and other old Malayalam texts.

(ii) The Singular -ഓ which is from older - ഓയ് with its -യ്[7] elided, is exemplified by Malayalam instrances like (ശ്രദ്ധ)പണ്ണിന്റോ(നീ)[8] of Dutavakayam. Tamil grammars refer to ഓയ് along with ഓന്-ഓള് and ഓര്[9].

(iii) The plural ഈര്[10] is also represented (through rarely) in old Malayalam texts, as in കണ്ടീരോ of KR, and (എങ്കുനിൻറു) വരിൻറീർ[11] of Kautaliyam.

(iv) The commentary at this stage makes the obsevation: "വർത്തമാന ഭവിഷ്യതോർന്ന വിശേഷ:[12]"

I would interprent this as referring to, the personal endings of the future and presents finites as being the same as those for the past. I would transrer here the present tense illustrations കാണിന്റോ[13] etc.,

---

1. -ōm
2. ā(y)as in vannā
3. ō(y)as in vannō
4. īr as in vannīr
5. ā is the older āy with its final -y
6. ā
7. ōy with its -y
8. śraddha paṇṇinṟō (nī)
9. ōy along with ōn , ōḷ and ōr
10. īr
11. kaṇṭīrō of KR and eṅkuṇinṟu, varinṟīr
12. "varttamānabhaviṣyatērnna viśēlaṣa:"
13. kāṇinṟō

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

which are printed in the published text along with the past tense instrances.

(c) The personal endings -ആന് and -ആള്[1] are adverted to in the illustraions വന്നാൻ, വന്നാൾ[2]. For the "neuter" third person, the type without any personal endings. as in വന്നു, പോയി[3], is mentioned; and the comment is made that these forms are used for both the singular and plural, though traditinary plural forms like വന്നന, പോയന[4] are also envisaged immediately after. The plural type of വന്നന[5], is used in old texts; 'ചുവന്തന തിശകളെല്ലാം[6]' of Ramacaritam, and മേഘകുലങ്ങൾ നിരന്നന[7] of Kannassaramayanam.

Finites without personal endings, were during the period perhaps already common in the collquials; in the literary dialect, the use of old traditionary forms with personal endings seems to have persisted, though even here the illustations in the commentay on sutra 23, the pointed reference in the commentary on the present sutra to "non-ratioal" finites like 'വന്നു'[8] and the actural emplyment of finites, without personal endings in US and RC, show that such finites were not rare in literature too.

Immediately after the mention of forms with the third person "rational" endings,-ആൻ,-ആൾ[9] the commentary makes the observation;- 'വരിന്റോൾ, വരിന്റോൻ,' "ഇത്യാദികാ വർത്തമാനഭവിഷ്യതോസ്തുല്യം"[10] The illustrations of the printed text (വരിന്റോ,വരിന്റേൻ[11]) are not appropriate in the context, which refers to third personal rational endigs. I would therefore suggest the reading given above, on the ground that reference is made here very probably to third personal-ഓൻ, -ഓൾ[12] which are common to the present, future and the past alike.

1. ān and āḷ
2. vannān, vannāḷ
3. vannū, pōyī
4. vannana, pōyana 5. vannana
6. cuvantana tiśakaḷellāṃ
7. mēkhakulaṅṅaḷnirannana
8. vannū
9. ān, āḷ
10. "varinṟōḷ, varinṟōn ityādikaṃ varttamāna bhaviṣyatōstulyaṃ "
11. varinṟō, varinṟēn
12. -ōn, -ōḷ

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

Forms like വരിന്റോൻ[1] are frequnet in Old Malayalam texts like Dutavakayam and Kautaliyam.Similarly, immediately after the mention of third person "non-rational" plurals, there appears the obsevation:

"വൻറന വന്റോ, ഇത്യാദി വർത്തമാന ഭവിഷ്യതോസ്സമം[2]". The printed text gives the inappropriate illustations: "വൻറു,വൻറാ[3]" neither of which is a third person non- rational plural. I Would emend these as suggested above.

The forms with -'അന[4]' apper in the past, persent and future alike in early Malayalam. Kautaliyam, for instance, has finities like 'ആവന[5]'. Forms with -ഓ[6] (non-rational plural) appere in the early texts both as predicates and as participial subjects: Examples of predicsates are: "കാൻപ്പടിന്റോ, അലറീയങ്ങിന്റോ, നിറൈക്കപ്പടിന്റോ, ഗർജ്ജിക്കിന്റോ (Dutavakyam p.37), and 'ആവോ' in "ഇവ ഉപായങ്ങളാവോ[7]" (Kautal.).

This non-rational plural type of വരിന്റോ or വന്റോ[8] is not a literary Tamil one. The long ഓ[6] appears in Tamil only in "rational" -ഓൻ, -ഓൾ, -ഓയ് and -ഓര[9].

(d) -കിൽ[10], the ending of the conditonla verb-form, mentined in the, vrtti to 24, was an early, popular isolation in Malayalm, as shown by 10th century forms: -തരികിൽ, കൊടാകിൽ[11] (TAS,III p.176 unique in Malayalm as the conditional of the negative) -ഒഴികിൽ[12] (ib.III p.180)

(e) One of the illustrations given in the വൃത്തി is വന്റേൻ[13] (I came). The use of 'ൻറ'[14] here is irregular in as much as the past stem of -വര് is -വന്ന്[15] with the dental gorup -'ന്ന്' which goes back to -ന്ത്[16] of

1. varinṟōn
2. "vanṟana, vanṟō, ityādi varttamānabhavişyatōssamaṃ"
3. vanṟu, vanṟā
4. ana 5. āvana 6. ō
7. kāṟeppaṭinṟō, alaṟiyaṅṅinṟō, niṟaikkappaṭinṟō, garjjikkinṟō and āvō in iva upāyaṅṅaḷāvō
8. varinṟō or vanṟō 9. ōn, ōḷ, ōy and ōr
10. kil 11. tarikil, koṭākil 12. oẕikil
13. vṛtti is vanṟēn 14. nṟ
15. var is vann
16. nn which goes back to nt

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

Tamil. The older form should therefore be -വന്ത് and not -വൻറു[1], but during the time of Lil. and of the Kannassa Panikkars the development of -ന്ത് to -ന്ന്[2] had become, so fixed and popular on the one hand, and on the other the change of -ന്റ് to-ന്ന്[3] had perhaps been initiated so firmly in the colloquial, that the original of -വന്ന്[4] was etymologised as -വൻറ്[5] and the spelling -വന്റ്[5] was sometimes employed to represent -വന്ത്[6] Cf. the uses of -വന്റ് (RC 30); -തന്റ് (US, II, 12); and -പിറൻറാൻ[7] as an illustraion in the vrtti to Lilatilakam II, 11.

śilpa III

The whole of this silpa is devoted to the examination of vocalic and consonatal sandhi in Malayalam. Though the treatment here again is far from being exhaustive, many features recorded in this silpa are of great value to the student of the evolution of the Malayalam language. Several vrttis mark off Malayalam features from the corresponding Tamil ones, and everywhere the outlook is guided by the desire to distiguish, define and explain features and phenomena that are peculiarly Malayalam; it has at the same time to be recognized that some of the sutras and the vrttis to these also reveal a respect for purely literary sandhi phenomena which were abset from the living speech of the time and which existed only in kavyas as the remnants of an older literary tradition.

I have dicussed the sutras in detail in my DS, and pointed out the divergences between Old Mal. and Tamil on the one hand. And the diffrences between Old Malayalam and New Malayalam 'n the other. In the present essay I shal therefore merely indicate the importent points relating to the sutras and the vrttis of this chapter, and finally sum up the the chief characteristics of the outlook of this work, so far as they are revealed in the third silpa.

---

1. vant and not vanṟu
2. nt to nn
3. nṟ to nn
4. vann
5. vanṟ
6. vant
7. vanṟ, tanṟ and piṟanṟān

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

III. I

This is സാമാന്യ സൂത്ര[1] laying down that the glide -യ[2]- crops up between contiguous vowels in vocalic sandhi, an in കിളിയത്, വാടായത്[3] etc.

The prescription of -യ്[2] as the inter vocal glide "when vowel meets vowel" in general terms as a സാമാന്യവിധി[4], and of the following sutras as വിശേഷവിധി[5] impliedly brings out some diffrences between the Malayalam (of the period of Lilatilakam) and Tamil. The rule in Tamil is to use -യ്[2] after front vowels and വ്[6] after back vowels; and this practice is observed in many early west coast inscriptions. The gradual disapperance in Malayalam of contexts where -വ്[6] was originally used (as in the infinitives. which in Malayalam came to be used, in the course of its early history, with -ഏ[7]) and the increasing popularity of -യ്[2] (as in വാടായത്[8], an illustration supplied by the വൃത്തി[9]) have led to this സാമാന്യവിധി[4] being laid down. The vrtti has a number of significant observations.

(i) The vowels അ, ആ, ഇ, ഈ, ഉ, ഊ, എ, ഏ, ഒ, ഓ[10] and the diphthong -ഐ[11] occer in initial postions of Malayalam words; -കൗ[12] is not met with initially; even words like -പൌവം[13] are rare in Malayalam.

(ii) In Final positions, all vowels except -ഒ, -ഐ and ഔ[14] may occur. Final -ഐ as in is -ആനൈ[15] pointed out as a Tamil feature. The -വൃത്തി[9] points out that short -ഒ[16], as a final, though occurring in the rapid colloquial under the stress of emotion is not literary; words like -പോ, -അയ്യോ[17] should be evaluated with a long, -ഓ[18].

1. sāmānya, sūtra
2. y
3. kiḷiyat, vāṭāyat
4. sāmānyavidhi
5. viśēṣavidhi
6. v
7. ē
8. vāṭāyat
9. vṛtti
10. a, ā, i, ī, u, ū, e, ē, o, ō
11. ai
12. kau
13. pauvam
14. o, ai **and** au
15. ai **as in** ānai
16. o
17. pō, ayyō
18. ō

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

III.I

The observations made by Lilatilakam on the glide-sound - യ്[1] illustrate the insight of this work into linguistic minuliae and its acquaintance with the earlier Parkrit grammars. In the commentary on II, I, the following observations occur;- "അയം യകാരോ വിസന്ധി പരിഹാരാർത്ഥമാപത്തി അന്യഥാ ഉച്ചാരണസ്യ ദുശ്ശ്ലിഷ്ടതാ -അത ഏവ പ്രാകൃതേ സോ അ ഇത്യദൌ യകാരഛായയോച്ചായ്യതേ - സംസ്കൃതേ ദധി +അന്നം ഇത്യാദൌ സാക്ഷാദേവഭവതി"[2]

Again in the commentary on IV, 21 there are the following comments on the -യ്[1] glide in a compound like "കോടിയിട"-"കിഞ്ചവിദ്ധ്യ ഭാവേപ്യേവമേവോച്ചാരയിതവ്യം - കത: -പ്രാകൃതേ വ അ ഇത്യാദൌ സുഖോച്ചാരണഹേത്വേ അചോർമ്മദ്ധ്യേ ഹ്യശിഷ്ടോപ്യകാര: പരിഗൃഹ്യതേ"[3]

(a) The 'glide' character of -യ്'[1] is clearly brought out here not only by the term 'യകാരഛായാ'[4] for the Prakrit glide (to which the Malayalam glide is compared) a unique word which, so far as I can see, no one of the earlier Prakit grammars has employed - but also by expressions like "വിസന്ധിപരിഹാരാശ്രുർത്ഥമാപതതി" and "സുഖോച്ചാരണഹേതവേ[5]. The pointed contrast between 'യകാരഛായാ'[4] of Prakrit and the fully consonatal -'യ്'[1] in Sanakrit 'ദദ്ധ്യന്ന[6]' reinforces the significance of the term -ഛായാ[7] in bringing out the absence of full senonantal friction in the phonation of this glide sound. The adjustment of the articulatory organs in the transition from a palatal vocalic sound to another immediately following vowel leads to the assumption by the tougue of postion for a light spirantal യ്[1] Hemacandra describes the Parkrit glide as 'യശ്രുതി' and "ലഘുപ്രയത്നതര"[8]

---

1. y
2. ayaṃ yakārō visandhiparihārārtthamāpatati -anyathā uccāraṇasya dūśśiṣṭatā -ata ēva prākṛtē sōa ityādo yakārachāyayōccāryatē - saṃskṛtē dadhi +annaṃ ityādo sākṣādēvabhavati
3. koṭiyiṭa:- kiñca va iddhyabhāvēpyēvamōvōccārayitavyaṃ- kuta: -prāṛtē va a ityādo sukhōccāraṇahētavē acōrmmaddhyēhyaśiṣṭōpyakāra: parigṛhyatē
4. yakārachāyā
5. visandhiparihārārtthamāpatati" and " sukhōccāraṇahētavē
6. daddhyanna
7. chāyā
8. yaśruti **and** laghuprayatnatara

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

(b) The some what close acquaintance shown by Lilatilakam with Parkrit grammatical rules and practies is evidences in a number of ways. യശ്രുതി[1] is not mentioned by Vararuci in his പ്രാകൃത പ്രകാശ[2], Nor does canda in his പ്രാകൃതലക്ഷണ[3] refer to യശ്രുതി[1] as such, when he prescribes in III, 55 of his പ്രാകൃതലക്ഷണ[3]; "കകാരവർഗ്ഗ തൃതീയയോരവർണ്ണേസ്ഥിതയോ; യത്വം ഭവതി"[4]. Hemacandran speaks of യശ്രുതി[1], in connection with the ഉദ്വൃത്ത vowels -അ and-ആ[5] generally speaking. In Jaina Prakrit manuscripts, however, the യശ്രുതി[1] is found introduced in association with all kinds of vowels. These divergencies of rules and practice are obliquely glanced at in the observations;

"അവിദ്ധ്യഭാവേപിഏവമേവോച്ചാരയിതവ്യം" and "പ്രാകൃതേ.... അചോർമ്മദ്ധ്യേ ഹ്യശിഷ്ടോപി യകാര: പരിഗൃഹ്യതേ"[6]

(c) It may be noted here that among the older Dravidian grammars, the glide character of this sound appearing between vowels is recognized only by Lilatilakam for Malayalam and by Sabdacintamani for Telugu. Tolkappiyam speaks of the sound ഉടമ്പടുമെയ്[7] " consonant appearing in the juncion (of vowels)". The earliest native Kannada grammars also refer to -യ്[8] in such contexts as fully consonatal.

III. 1

The commentary expressly points out that the final -ഓ of Malayalam words like പോ, അയ്യോ[9] is a long sound and that the use of the short sound is not proper, though somtimes (in the colloquials) the short value is given.

Now these observations of the commentary are, I think, also applicable to the final long 'എ[10]' of many Mal. types. To-day, there appears to be no fixity or ruled regarding the length of final -'എ[10]' in Malayalam. Even educated persons indiscriminately use the short and long varieties in final positions of Malayalam words.

1. yaśruti
2. prākṛta prakāśa
3. prākṛtalakṣaṇa
4. prākṛtalakṣaṇa: " kakāravarggatṛtīyayōravarṇṇēsthitayō: yatvaṃ bhavati "
5. udvṛtta **vowels** a and ā
6. " aviddhyabhāvēpi ēvamēvōccārayitavyaṃ - and prākṛtē... acōrmmaddhyē hyaśiṣṭōpi yakāra: parigṛhyatē "
7. uṭanpaṭumey
8. y
9. ō of Malayalam words like pō, ayyō
10. e

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

I would suggest the adoption of a set of rules like the following (a) Short -എ[1] should be retained in those types where in origin it was short, except when stress requires lengthening. The chief types where final -എ[1] was short in origine are (i) the Malayalam accusatives; (ii) Malayalam infinitives like വളരെ, ഏറെ, പോലെ[2] etc . (iii) words like നാളെ[3] etc and (iv) sixth case forms like എന്റെ, പക്ഷികളുടെ[4] etc.

(b) Wherever the old long 'ഏ[5]' still denotes emphasis, the length should be retained, as in തന്നെ (in ഞാൻ തന്നേ), ഒക്കവേ, മുഴുവനേ, ആരുമേ, പലേ [6] where the long -'ഏ[5]' corresponds to the "തേററം ഏ"[7] of Tamil.

(c) In other instances, where final -'ഏ[5]' denoting emphasis (തേററം എ[7] of Tamil) has now lost its original force and become a mere indicator (in popular conception) of the category to which the form belongs, the short -എ[1] may be used, and in 'അതെ' (originally അതേ[8]) the negative participle type of ചെയ്യാതെ the " permissive" type of ചെയ്യട്ടെ[9] etc.

(d) Collocations like കാട്ടിലേ ആന[10] were isolated as such from contexts where -ഏ of കാട്ടിലേ [11] appeared as a terminative expletive in locative forms governing finites. Such an expletive -എ[1] tacked on to locatives and also to the third case ending -ആൽ[12], are common in കൃഷ്ണഗാഥ and ചെറുശ്ശേരിഭാരതം[13].

But the expletive -എ[1] was itself the "faded" representative of a still older emphasis - denoting -ഏ[5] attached to locatives when the semantic stress fell on these locatives. In view of the fading of the original "തേററം[14]"force a short value may be agreed upon for the qualificatory particle.

---

1. e 2. vaḷare, ēṟe, pōle
3.nāḷe
4. enṟe, pakṣikaḷuṭe 5. ē
6. tannē as in ñān tannē, okkavē, muẕuvanē, ārumē, palē
7. ēṟṟaṃ ē of Tamil
8. ate originally atē
9. ceyyāte the permissive type of ceyyaṭṭe
10. kāṭṭilē āna
11. ē of kāṭṭilē
12. āl
13. kṛṣṇagātha and ceruśśēribhāratam
14. tēṟṟaṃ

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

(e) The Following types should retain their length, in view of the emotional stress associated with -ഏ[1]-

i. Restrictive -ഏ[1] corresponding to പിരിനിലൈ -ഏ of Tamil, as in അയാളേ വന്നുള്ളൂ[2],

ii. Interrogatival -എ as in അല്ലേ, ഇല്ലേ, കൂടേ (കൂടാ+ഏ), വേണ്ടേ (വേണ്ടാ + എ)[3]

iii. Vocatival -എ as in രാമനേ, മകളേ[4] etc

iv. The -എ at the end of negatives, as in വരല്ലേ, ചെയ്യരുതേ, dilectal പോകാതേ[5] (prohibitive)

v. Interjectional -എ as in അയ്യേ[6]

vi. The augment -എ as in ആറേകാൽ[7] etc.

III. 2, 3

After the demonstratives -അ and -ഇ[8] the sound -വ് or optionally-വ്വ്[9] crops up before vowels following, as in -അവഴക് or -അവ്വഴക്[10](that comeliness). The vrtti to 2 points out that -യ്[11]- also occurs sometimes, as in അയാൾക്ക്[12]. Tamil inscriptions show colloquial forms like ഇയൂർ[13].

I may note here two points of difference between Tamil and Malayalam.

(a) -'വ്'[14] occurring in literary Tamil in similar contexts appears invariably geminated, while in Malayalam it may optionally remain short, colloquial Tamil may have short -'വ്', as in -ഇവാറ് (SII,III, p. 252) and -ഇവൂർ[15] (ib, III,p. 77). The Difference between Tamil and

1. ē
2. pirinilai-ē of Tamil,as in ayāḷē vannuḷḷū
3. allē, illē, kūṭē (kūṭā+ē), vēṇṭē (vēṇṭā+ē)
4. ē as in rāmanē, makaḷē
5. ē as in varallē, ceyyarutē, dialectal pōkātē
6. ē as in ayyē
7. ē as in āṟēkāl
8. a and i
9. v optionally vv
10. avaẕak avvaẕak
11. y
12. ayāḷkk
13. iyūr
14. v
15. v as in ivāṟ and ivūr

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

Malayalam is reflected in Malayalam forms like ഇവിടെ, അവിടെ[1] occuring in Old and New Malayalam alike (cf.അവിടേയേ[2] of early inscriptions).

(b) -യ്[3]- after -അ never occures in Tamil literary specch Nannul, 163, provides (as an exception to the rule) that -'യ്[3]' may appear after -ആ before front vowels following (as in ആയിടൈ[4]) but after the short അ[5], literary Tamil never allows -യ്[3]. ബഹ്വർത്ഥതായാം 'അവ്' ഇതിശബ്ദാന്തം[6] says the വൃത്തി[7] to sutra 3. This has reference to the plural -'അവ്' mentioned by തൊൽകാപ്പിയം[8] along with ഇവ് and ഉവ് in the എഴുത്തതികാരാ സൂത്ര[9] 81.

III.4

-'വ്'[10] is the glide appearing after the back, liprounded vowels -ഉ, -ഊ, -ഓ, as in "മറുവുണ്ട്, കൺമുവത്, പോവൂതോവെന്റവാറേ"[11]

The vrtti sheds light on the following:- (i) In മറുവ്, വടുവ്[12] often heard in Malayalam (even in the period of Lil.) beside -മറു and -വടു[13], -വ്[10] was originally a glide and not a consonantal final. Cf. vrtti III, 12, below.

(ii) The intermediate demonstrative of -ഉ[14] literary Tamil is not met with in Malayalam.

III : 5

"In sandhi contexts, the final സംവൃത ഉ്[15] of Malayalam is elided before vowels following"

(a) The vrtti points out that (i) this sound is അർദ്ധമാത്രിക[16] ie, possessed only of a half-matra value;

---

1. iviṭe, aviṭe
2. aviṭēyē 3. y
4. ā as in āyiṭai 5 a
6. y : " bahvartthatāyāṃ av itiśabdāntaṃ" 7. vṛtti
8. av mentioned by tolkāppiyaṃ
9. iv and uv eẕuttadhikāraṃ sūtra 81
10. v 11. u, ū, ō as in maṟuvuṇṭ kāṇmūvat, pōvūtōvenṟavāṟē
12. maṟuv, vaṭuv
13 maṟu and vaṭu, v 14. u
15. saṃvṛta u
16. arddhamātrika

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

(ii) it resmbles the കുററിയിലുകരം[1] (denoted in the IPA script by the symbol w) of Tamil; and that

(iii) it differs from the -ഉ, -മറു, -വടു[2] in as much as this latter -ഉ[3] is a fully rounded -ഉ[3] with the value of one മാത്ര[4]

In modern Malayalam, its phonetic value before pauses is that of 'e' while in intimate word-compounds it has a tendency to revert to an w-like sound before initial consonats of the second constituents. I am of the view that a sound -ഉ[3] similar to that of Tamil is the "ancestor" of modern Malayalam finale.

When did this change of older -ഉ̆- to -ഉ[3] occur? The vrtti here has not noted any special distinction between the Malayalam സംവൃത[5] and the Tamil കുററിയലുകരം[1] on the contrary, the terms in which the relationship of the Malayalam sound to its Tamil counterpart is referred to might indicate that at the time of the vrtti the Malayalam സംവൃത[5] probably had the same value as the Tamil കുററിയലുകരം[1].

It is not quite easy to find out when the change in the value of the Malayalam സംവൃത[5] occurred. No distinctive symbol is employed in Tamil or in Old Malayalam to represent the സംവൃത[5] usually denoted in writing by the symbol or ഉ[3]. In the oldest west coast inscriptions, therefore, the symbol for ഉ[3] usually representd (wherever necessary) the സംവൃത[5] sound. This symbol was probably used as often in modern writing, even after the Malayalam had devolped. Thus the difficulty in tracing the chronology of the change of -ഉ̆ to -ഉ[3] in Malayalam even approximately is obvious. Nevertheless use the of the words ചെയ്യിച്ചത്, ചെന്നത്[6] without the symbol for ഉ[3] at the final positions, in a 15th century inscription published on p.14 of the Cochin Archaeological Report for 1926, the dropping of the symbol for ഉ[3] in numerous instances in a 16th century Ms. of a Malayalam translation of കുറൾ[7]

1. kuṟṟiyilukaraṃ
2. u of maṟu, vaṭu
3. u
4. mātra
5. saṃvṛta
6. ceyyiccata, cennata
7. kuṟaḷ

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

and the transliteration by the 16th - 17th century Catholic missionary Fenicio of Malayalam words (containing the സംവൃത[1] final) like പുവ് (as 'pua'), പട്ടാങ്ങ് (as 'pattanga'') മുളച്ച് (as 'muleca'), മരുന്ന് (as 'marunna') കള്ള് (as 'calla'), കോയില് (as 'coila') and എന്താ അത്[2] (as "entauada") show that the change of -ഉ് to -ഉ[3] in pausal positions materialised by about or before the 15th century.

In 'vaulgar' writing, even to-day, the Malayalam സംവൃത[1] (particularly before paused) is represented with out any specila symbol as in the inscriptional instances given above. The absences of the symbol for -ഉ[3] would change the vocalic value to that of -അ[4] and as a loosely uttered -അ[4] is generally felt as nearer to e that to u or w, the practice of dropping the -ഉ[3] symbol with a view to denoting the സംവൃത[1] is somtimes followed.

(b) The vrtti regards the final vowel in -അത്[5] (that) as സംവൃത[1]. Strict rules of Tamil grammar regard the corresponding sound as a fully rounded -ഉ[3] , though in comparatively late Tamil texts the sound is elided like-ഉ്[3] before vowels following, in sandhi. In Old Malayalam texts the final vowel of -അത്, -ഇത്[6] is sometimes elided before vowels following, and sometimes not. In colloquial Tamil today, the value of the final vowel of these words is that of the സംവൃത[1] ഉ[3]. It is interesting to note that Lil. rocognizes here the existence in Malayalam of the സംവൃത[1] value for the final vowel of അത്[5]

III. 6

'"when -റ്, -ട് [7]are followed by vowels in sandhi contexts, -റ് and -ട് [7] are 'geminated' as -ററ് and -ട്ട്[8] and ഉ[3] is elided. The rule, as stated here, alludes only to contexts in which vowels follow, but the changes are met with before consonantes followimg also as in ആററുപായല് cf. the illustration കുററുവാഴയ്ക്ക[9] in III, 29, commentary.

1. saṃvṛta
2. pūv, paṭṭāṅṅ, muḷacc, marunn, kaḷḷ, kōyil, entā at
3. u 4. a
5. at
6. at, it 7. ṟ, ṭ
8. ṟṟ and ṭṭ
9. āṟṟupāyal of the illustration kūṟṟuvāḻaykka

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

Further, what is described as "gemination' here represents perhaps an original change of -റ്+ത് = ററ്, -ട് + ത് =ട്ട്[1]. For a full discussion of these changes, occurring not only in Malayalam but in Tamil and in certain other Dravidian speeches. see my HAP.

III: 7

This is a സാമാന്യസൂത്ര[2] about the meeting of vowels and consonats in sandhi contexts. Here agian, the വൃത്തി[3] envisages the special conditions of Malayalam in framing the present sutra as a സാമാന്യവിധി[4] prescribing mere സംശ്ലേഷ[5] without any change, and in laying down the next four rules as വിശേഷവിധി[6] which later provided for all Malayalam contexts (except the type of ഓടിക്കടന്നു and പറയത്തക്ക[7]) involving doubling.

This arrangement of the rules in Lilatilakam reflects the peculiarities of the west coast speech in this respect. The contexts involving doubling of plosives (after vowels) became reduced in Malayalam, in the course of its earlier history. The influence of the colloquial brought about absence of doubling in the types of വിത്തുപാട് (ef. Tamil വിത്തുപ്പാട്), of കിളിചെറുതു (cf. Tamil optional കിളിക്കുറിത്), തീചുടം(cf. Tamil തീച്ചുടാ)[8]. The gradual replacement of the older infinitives with -അ[9] by purpose-participles with -വാൻ[10] also led to a reduction in the number of contetxts involving doubling. The vrtti points out that (i) the consonats occuring in initial position of Malayalam words are -ക്, -ച്, -ഞ്, -ത്, -ന്, -പ്, -മ്, -യ്, -വ്[11] and that (ii) -ര് [12] is not a consonantal initial in Malayalam. Regarding -ര്[12] as a consonantal initial in Malayalam, the വൃത്തി[3] says that words with initial -ര് and -ല് like -രായരൻ and -ലാക്ക്[13] are 'corruptions

---

1. ṟ + t = ṟṯh, ṭ + t = ṭṭ
2. sāmānyasūtra
3. vṛtti
4. sāmānyavidhi
5. saṃślēṣa
6. viśēṣavidhi
7. ōṭikkaṭannu and paṟayattakka
8. vittupāṭ or vittuppāṭ, kiḷiceṟutu -**Tam.** kiḷikkuṟit, tīcuṭuṃ- **Tam.** tīccuṭuṃ
9. a
10. vān
11. k, c, ñ, t, n, p, m, y, v **and** r
12. r
13. r **and** l like rāyaran **and** lākk

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

from Sanskrit' 'സംസ്കൃതസ്യാപഭ്രംശാ'[1] and that the evaluation of the word for 'two' in Malayalam should be -ഇരണ്ട്[2] and not -രണ്ട്[3] as often pronounced in Malayalam even at the time of Lil. In literary Tamil, the word for two is ഇരണ്ട്[2]. In colloquial Tamil and in Malayalam, it is pronounced രണ്ട്[14] with an initial -ര്[4] the *i*-being aphaeresized.

Lil. conservatively sticks to the Tamil literary tradition, and criticises the use of രണ്ട്[3] in rather strong terms:- "ഇരണ്ടാലുമൊൻറുണ്ടു നമുക്കിദാനീം" ഇതിത്വപശബ്ദഃ, ഭാഷായാമപി വ്യവസ്ഥയാ ഭവിതവ്യം. ന തു സ്വേച്ഛയാ തഥാ പ്രയോഗഃ, ന ഖലു 'ആന' ഇതി വാച്യേ 'പുന' ഇതി വക്തവ്യം, ന വാ 'വരുത്തി' ഇതി 'ഒരുത്തി' ഇതി വാ വക്തവ്യേ 'രുത്തി' ഇതി വക്തമുചിതം, അർത്ഥാ പ്രതീതേ"[5]

III. 8

" After the final -എ[6] of second case forms (accusatives) the plosives are geminated, as in അതിനെക്കണ്ട് [7](saw that". A similar rule exists in Tamil also after -ഐ[8] of the second case forms.

The വൃത്തി[9] says that after long -ഏ[10] there is no doubling and gives അതേ കണ്ടു[11] (yes! he, she or it saw) as an example. The reason for the absence of doubling is the intervention of a pause after -ഏ[10] in instances like these. See my DS for പ്രകൃതിഭാവ[12] instances like these.

III.9

After the short interrogative particle -എ[6] there is gemination of plosives and of -ഞ്, -ന്, -മ് and -വ്[13]

---

1. saṃskṛtasyāpabhraṃśā:
2. iraṇṭ
3. raṇṭ
4. r
5. iraṇṭālumonṟuṇṭu namukkidānīṃ ititvapaśda: bhāṣāyāmapi vyavasthayā bhavitavyaṃ. na tu svēcchayā tathā prayōga: na khalu āna iti vācyē pūna iti vaktavyaṃ na vā varutti iti orutti iti vā vaktavyē rutti iti vaktumupitaṃ artthā pratīrē: "
6. e
7. atinekkaṇṭ
8. ai
9. vṛtti
10. ē
11. athē kaṇṭu
12. prakṛtibhāva
13. ñ, n, m, v

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

III.10

A similar rule is laid down after the short demonstratives -അ, -ഇ[1] Cf. for Tamil, TE. 204, 206, 207.

III.11

This comprehensive sutra says that in സമാസ[2] plosives are doubled after vowels, as in ആനക്കാട്, വാഴപ്പാടം.[3] The doubling affects only plosives, but not the sounds -ഞ്, -ന്, -മ്, -വ്[4] This rule relating to സമാസ[2] compounds corresponds roughly to the body of rules affecting തൊകൈ[5] in Tamil.

III.12

This rule contemplates instance like മാങ്കൊമ്പ്, പുളിങ്കൊമ്പ്, പൂന്തോട്ടം[6] in which a nasal ആഗമ[7] the character of which depends upon that of the plosive following, appears between the two constituents of compounds.

I may note here that the nasal appears generally in connection with words denoting trees or flowers (Cf. TE, 218, 230, 232, etc).The nasal ആഗമ[7] is common to both Malayalam and Tamil, after the names -മാ and -ഉതി[8]; but after -പുളി[9] the name of the tree, Tolkappiyam presribes -അമ്[10] as the ആഗമ[7] though forms like പുളിങ്കായ് and പുളി മ്പഴം[11] appear to have become popular in Tamil in later periods.

As for-പൂ[12] (after which too Lilatilakam prescribes the nasal ആഗമ[7]) the Tolkappiyam rule has been interpreted by ഇളമ്പൂരണർ and നച്ചിനാർക്കിനിയർ[13] as allowing the use of this augment alternatively. It may also be mentioned that the വൃത്തി[14] emphasizes

1. a, i
2. samāsā
3. ānakkāṭ, vāẓappāṭaṃ
4. ñ, n, m, v
5. tokai
6. māṅkōnp, puḷiṅkonp, pūntōṭṭaṃ
7. āgama
8. mā **and** uti
9. puḷi
10. -am
11. puḷiṅkāy **and** puḷinpaẓaṃ
12. pū
13. iḷanpūraṇar **and** naccinārkkiniyar
14. vṛtti

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

once again that മാവ് (mangotree) and പൂവ്[1] (flower) appearing in Malayalam beside older -മാ, -പൂ[2] are special Malayalam formations; but Middle Tamil alredy, had -similar forms. The work next proceeds to deal with consonantal സന്ധി[3].

III.13

" There is no change after -ന് and -ണ് appearing in sandhi contexts before -ക്, -ച്, -പ്, -ഞ്, -മ്, -യ്, -വ്.[4]

i. The rule, as stated here, is partly in agreement with Tamil literary rules, and partly at variance with them. When -ന് and -ണ് meet -ഞ് - മ്, യ്- and വ്[5] in Tamil, there is, generally speaking, no change; but when -ന് and -ണ് meet ക്-, ച്-, പ്-[6] there are changes affecting -ന് and -ണ് in Tamil in സമാസ[7] contexts (see my DS).

Lilatilakam states that for Malayalam the meeting of -ന് and -ണ് with ക്-, -ച്, -പ്[8] is not attended by any change: and, generally speaking, this is true of the colloquial; but for the literary dialect, so far as-ന്[9] is concerned, Lilatilakam itself (through III, 26, below) prescribes the Tamil change of -ന് to -റ് before -ക്, -ച്, -പ് (as in പൊറ് കണ്ണാടി, പൊറ്പു[10] etc). I think that while III, 13 envisages the colloquial Malayalam usage (not unrepresented in literary speech during the period of Lilatilakam), III, 26 contemplates the tradition (inherited from Tamil) which required the change of -ന് to -റ്[11]

ii. The വൃത്തി[12] marks off the absolute consonatal finals of Malayalam as -ണ്, -മ്, -യ്, -ര്, -ല്, -ള്, -ഴ്, -വ് and ൻ, ഉരിൻ and പൊരുൻ[13] are distinguished as exclusively Tamil. The inclusion by Lilatilakam of -

---

1. māv and pūv
2. mā, pū
3. sandhi
4. n, ṇ appearing in the sandhi contexts before k, c, p, ñ, m, y, v
5. n and ṇ meet ñ, m, y and v
6. n and -ṇ, -k, -c, -p
7. n and ṇ in Tamil in samāsa contexts
8. n and ṇ with k, ca, p
9. n 10. n to ṟ before k, c, p as in poṟkaṇṇāṭi, poṟpū
11. n to ṟ
12. vṛtti
13. ṇ, m, y, r, l, ḷ, ẕ, v and n, uriññ and porun

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

വ്[1] among the consonatal final of Malayalam is dictated merely by respect for tradition; for it should be noted that even in Middle Tamil -വ്[1] had ceased to be an absolute final.

iii. The വൃത്തി[2] contains an important obsevation about -റ്[3]. It points out that -റ്[3] is never an absolute consonanatal final in Malayalam, the sound in final positions of words like വയറ്[4] being always followed by the സംവൃത[5]. For modern Malayalam, KP allows -റ്[3] as an absolute final (p.95). The rule of Tamil is that-റ്[3] is never an absolute consonantal final. For Kannada, the grammar Sabdamanidarpana (sutra 48) allows -റ്[3] as a final. For the reasons for the change of outlook in modern Malayalam (and in Kannada), see my PMP.

iv. The വൃത്തി[2] expressly points out the absence in Malayalam of the literary Tamil change of -ണ് to -ട് before -ക്, -ച്, -പ്[6] (in 'casal' contexts). Colloquial Tamil shows no change here.

III.14

-ത് is cerebralized to -ട് when it meets -ണ്[7], *15. This is essentially a Tamil rule, not-met with in external sandhi in modern Malayalm. Even Old Malayalam texts show only a few literary word-compounds like the following, containg this sandhi change in external postions:-എണ്ടിശ (എൺ+തിച) KR, I, 3.

തണ്ടാർ (തൺ + താർ) KR, II, 36

തിണ്ടേർ (തിൺ + തേർ)[8] RC, 203.

Expect in a few such rare old compounds, the change is not met with west coast inscriptions. The rule, therefore, of the production of -ണ്ട് when -ണ് meet -ത്[9] postulated in Lilaltilkam, III: 14, covers only Old Malayalam literary compounds like those listed above. (It

1. v
2. vṛtti
3. ṟ
4. vayaṟ
5. saṃvṛta
6. ṇ to ṭ before k, c, p
7. t to ṭ when its meets ṇ
8. eṇṭiśa (eṇ + rica), taṇṭār (taṇ + tār), tiṇṭēr (tiṇ + tēr)
9. ṇṭ when ṇ meets t

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

should be remembered that in internal sandhi this change occure in Malayalam and in other Dravidian dialects).

III.15, 16

These two rules together envisage the following changes; -ള് +-ന് =ണ്ണ് -as in മുണ്ണൻറ് (മുൾ+നൻറ്)[1, *16]. The change is not common in modern Malayalam, execpt in 'crystallised' componds like എണ്ണ, വെണ്ണ[2]

The വൃത്തി[3] mentions the change of -ള് to -ണ് [4] when meeting -മ് as in വാണ്മേൽ (വാൾ+മേൽ), തൊണ്മേൽ (തോൾ+മേൽ)[5]. This alludes to rare literary instances. as in RC, 38. In external sandhi, the change is limited even in Old Mal. The colloquial tendency to keep the meeting sounds unchanged as in modern Malayalam is implied by the instance വാൾമറു[6] cited as a counter-iustance in the വൃത്തി to III, 20.

III. 17

-മ്[7] meeting initial plosives of words following, become a varga nasal. This is a rule common to Dravidian dialects.

III. 18

-മ് meeting -ന് gives rise to -ന്ന്, -മ്[8] being dropped. The meaning of the sutra and the illustration given (മരന്നൻറ്)[9] show a departure from Tamil, which prescribes the elision of -മ് [7] in all സന്ധി[10] contexts. Though instances like മരനിര, പാട്ടനെൽ[11] are common in Malayalam, yet there are illustrations like കലന്നെൽ (TAS,III, p. 170, I, 13), തരുന്നെൽ, വരവേണ്ടുന്നെൽ[12] in inscriptions.

---

1. -ḷ + n = ṇṇ as in maṇṇanṟ (muḷ + nanṟ)
2. eṇṇa, veṇṇa
3. vṛtti
4. ḷ to ṇ
5. m as in vāṇmēl (vāḷ + mēl), koṇmēl (tōḷ + mēl)
6. vāḷmaṟu
7. m
8. m **meeting** n **gives rise to** nn, m
9. marannanṟ
10. sandhi
11. maranira, pāṭṭanel
12. kalannel, tarunnel , varavēṇṭunnel

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

III. 19

The സൂത്ര[1] postulates the elision of final -മ് in instances like വട്ടപ്പലക[2] etc. The commoentary refers to the ദ്വിത്വ of the initial -പ etc.of പലക്[3] etc.

Strictly speaking them the instaces കരിപ്പുവില്ലൻ[4] (''he with the bow of sugarane, the God കാമ[5]), പിരപ്പുകാരൻ[6] (the rattan dealer) have no place here. The ലോപ[7] in these instances refers to the -മ് of the മെൻറോടർ group of കരിമ്പ് and പിരമ്പ്[8] a change that is separately provided of in Tamil grammars. The Old Malayalam text, രാമചരിതം has instances like കാക്കുവീരർ, ഇരിപ്പെഴുക്.[9] Modern Malayalam has ചെപ്പേട്, കററുവാണിഭം, വേപ്പില, കുരുത്തോല[10].

III. 20

ക്-, ച്-, ത്-, പ്- are geminated after -യ്, -ര്, -ല്, -ഴ് and -ള്[11]. The rule, though framed in absolute terms, applies only to സമാസ[12] and intimate sequences. The Tamil rules provide for the doubling of plosives after -യ്, -ര് and -ഴ്[13] in compounds (and sequences);but the meeting of -ല് and -ള്[14] with plosives involves other changes.

The difference is important became it is clear that even in the period of Lilatilakam, the tendency of Malayalam was to steer clear of the literary rules of Tamil. Lilatilakam itself, in III, 26 and 27 postulates the Tamil changes for the meeting of -ല് and -ന്[15] with plosives in Malayalam. As i shall point out below, these later sutras of Lilatilakam are intended only to cover a few instances which appear either to have

---

1. sūtra
2. m in vaṭṭappalaka
3. dvitva **of the initial** pa **etc., of** palaka
4. karippuvillan
5. kāma
6. pirappukāran
7. lōpa
8. menṟoṭar **group of** karinp **and** piranp
9. rāmacaritaṃ **has instance like** kuṟukkuvīrar, irippezuk
10. ceppēṭ, kaṟṟuvāṇibhaṃ, vēppila, kuruttōla
11. k, c, t, p **are geminated after** y, r, l, ẕ **and** ḷ
12. samāsā
13. y, r **and** ẕ
14. l **and** ḷ
15. l and n

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

been handed down to Old Malayalam by tradition or to have been borrowed from literary Tamil by Old Malayalam writers versed in Tamil lore.

III. 21

The simplification of -ണ്ണ (arising form -ള് + ന്-) to -ണ് (as in വാണൻറ്, നീണാൾ[1]) where the first constituant of the compound is a dissyllabic or polysyllabic word or a monosyllabic word with a long vowel, is referred to here.

The വൃത്തി[2] metions instances like അവണില (അവൾ+നില) വേദങ്ങണാലും (വേദങ്ങൾ+നാലും)[3] occuring in texts; but in the printed editions of Old Malayalam texts, such compounds with dissyllabic or trisyllabic first constitudents are not found, though I have come across, compounds like നീണാൾ (RC: 28) നീണയനേ[4] (RC, 175).

The commentary disapproves of the-ണ്[5] arising from the juction of -ഴ് and ന്-[6](dental), in instances like വാണാൾ from വാഴ്നാൾ[7]. On the ground that the old grammatical tradition as embodied in works like Tolkappiyam, (ഭാഷാലക്ഷണേ[8]) does not mention it. Alternatively, it seeks to justify the change as a special Malayalam usage. The change does not appear to have been and Old Tamil one.തൊൽകാപ്പിയം[9] does not expressly refer to it; nor do Sangam texts show forms other than instances like വാഴ്നാൾ[10].

But the Middle Tamil grammar, വീരചോഴിയം[11] expressly sanctions the change (for external സന്ധി[12]) in the 18th സൂത്ര of സന്ധിപ്പടലം -നവ്വരിൻ മുന്നഴിന്തു പിൻമിക്കണവ്വാം[13] Middle Tamil texts like

1. ṇṇa (arising from ḷ + n) to ṇ (as in vāṇanṟ, nīṇāḷ)
2. vṛtti
3. avaṇila: avaḷ + nila,vēdaṅṅaṇālum : vēdaṅṅaḷ+ nālum
4. nīṇāḷ nīṇayanē   5. ṇ
6. ẕ **and** n
7. vāṇāḷ **from** vāẕnāḷ
8. bhāṣālakṣaṇē
9. tolkkāppiyam
10. vāẕnāḷ
11. vīracōẕiyam
12. sandhi
13. sūtra **of** sandhippaṭalam:-"navvarin munnaẕintupinmikkaṇavvām"

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

തേവാരം and നാലായീരപ്രബന്ധം[1] show forms like വാണാൾ (for വാഴ്നാൾ)[2] and Middle Tamil inscriptions have instances like കീണോക്കിയ (for കീഴ്നോക്കിയ[3]).

So, the change in external സന്ധി[4] is not an exclusively Malayalam one. But in internal സന്ധി[4] as in വിണ്ണ്-, വാണ്ണ്-, മകിണ്ണ്-[5] the change seems to be special to Malayalam.

III. 22

The സൂത്ര[6] states that the ഉ-[7] sound appearing after -വ്[8] (before words following, with consonatal initials) is അർദ്ധമാത്രിക[9], and the illustration തേവ്കല്ല്[10] is given. The need for a rule like this in Malayalam arises this way.

Old Tamil (as well as the Tamil grammatical tradition) recognised only a മുററുകരം[11] after -വ് in words, like കനവു, പുറവു[12] .But alredy from the period of Old Tamil onwards, this മുററുകരം[11] behave before vowels following, like കുററുകരം[13] in being elided.

This practice is referred to both by വീരചോഴിയം ("ആവി വന്താറ്പാവിയ മുററുകരത്തിൻ ചിതൈവും പകർന്തനരേ"[14]) and by നന്നൂൽ ("മുററും അററ് ഓരോവഴി"[15]). In Malayalam, from the earliest known periods, the sound had only a കുററുകരം[13] value. This peculiarity is given formal recognition to in this സൂത്ര[6].

III. 23, 24

Here agian, the Malayalam use of the "enunciative" before pauses and before consonates following, in words like തോല് and കല്ല്[16]

1. tēvāraṃ **and** nālāyiraprabandhaṃ
2. vāṇāḷ **for** vāẕnāḷ
3. kīṇōkkiya **for** kīẕnōkkiya
4. sandhi
5. viṇṇ-, vāṇṇ-, makiṇṇ-
6. sūtra
7. u
8. v
9. arddhamātrika
10. tēvkallu
11. muṟṟukaraṃ
12. v **in words like** kanavu, puṟavu
13. kaṟṟukaraṃ
14. vīracōẕiyaṃ : "āvi vantāṟ pāviya muṟṟukarattin citaivuṃ pakarntanarē "
15. nannūl : "muṟṟuṃ aṟṟ ōrō vaẕi"
16. tōl and kall.

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

is recognized. Though Tamil colloquials embodied the enunciative in the colloquials at least from the Middle Tamil period, the Tamil grammatical tradition does not recognize it.

III. 25

ഏഴ്-(seven) becomes ഏഴു[1] in comounds, in which this words followed by consonants. For a similar Tamil rule, cf. TE, 390.

III. 26

"-ല് and -ന് [2]while meeting the plosives (ക്-,വ്-, പ്-) become changed to റ് as in പൊറ്കണ്ണാടി (പൊൻ കണ്ണാടി), കറ്ചിറ (കൽ+ചിറ)[3] etc..

(a) This is a Tamil rule observed in സമാസ[4] and certain sequences. In may have been adopted by some Old Malayalam writers. Though the inscriptions of the 9th and 10th centuries show instances of these Tamil changes, there exist others, where these changes are absent and the modern Malayalam practies is followed in the meeting of -ല് and -ന് with the plosives:-

കൈയാൽ പൊൻകൊണ്ട് - (TAS, III, p. 166) -10th century)
നാൽപ്പത്തിരുകലന്നെൽ - (TAS, III,p. 170 - 10the century)
ഇടങ്കഴിയാൽക്കുടുക്ക[5] - (III, p.181 - of 1004 AD).

In the 12th century, the absence of the Tamil changes becomes more common;- നാൽപ്പത് (1. 241), നാൽപ്പത്തേഴ് beside നാറ്പത് (I. 106) (TAS, IV, p. 46 cf;) നാൽക്കലം (TAS III, p. 28, 1. 17) മേൽപാതി, മേൽപ്പാതി (TAS. III p. 13, 29) the adapted Sanskrit കല്പിച്ച (beside കറ്പിച്ച)[6] (III p, 23). Thus by about the twelth century, the modern Malayalam tendency (embodied for -ല്[7] as a rule by Lilatilakam in III, 20) had become fairly popular.

---

1. ēẕ **becomes** eẕu
2. l **and** n
3. k, v, p **become changed to** ṟ **as in** poṟkaṇṇāṭi (ponkaṇṇāṭi), kaṟciṟa (kal+ciṟa)
4. samāsa
5. kaiyāl ponkoṇṭ, nālppattirukalannel, iṭaṅkaẕiyālkkuṭukka
6. nālppat, nālppattēẕ, nāṟpat, nālkkalam̱, mēlpāti, mēlppāti, kalpicca, kaṟpicca
7. l

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

The prescription of a Tamil rule by Lilatilakam in III: 26, in spite of this fact, shows that Lilatilakam wanted to lay down a special sutra to cover a few rare traditonary instances which still continued to exist in Malayalam works. The current printed editions of US*[17] or of the works of the Panikkars do not, however, show any instances containing the Tamil changes.

(b) The vritti to this rule makes an obsevation (in regard to the meeting of -ന് and -ല് with ക്-, ച്-, പ്-[1]) which betrays a conservative literary bias;- "അത്ര ലകാരച്ഛായാ നാതിയുക്താ"[2] the substitution of an -ല്[3] like sound (for-റ്)[4] is not appropriate for Malayalam".

The reference here is to the colloquial retention of original -ല്[4] on the one hand, and on the other to the unique Malayalam substitution of original -ന് by-ല് before ക്-, പ്-, ച്-[5] in instances like പിൽക്കാലം, മുൽപ്പാട്, പൊൽപ്പു[6] commonly met with in US and otherold Malayalam texts. Lilatilakam expressly disapproves of this peculiar Malayalam change, and conservatively presribes the Tamil rule. The earliset inscriptions show forms like പൊൻതണ്ടം[7] but US shows words with -ല് for -ന്[8].

III. 27

When -ല്, -ന് meet -ത്[9] the consonant group -ററ് is produced as in കററളം (കൽ+തളം), പൊററാമര (പൊൻ+താമര)[10]. This change is absent in modern Malayalam and in many contexts of Old Malayalam. It is, however, met with in a few literary componds like the following, used in the texts:- നററുണ (RC : 80), മേററം (RC: 81), നററവനേ (KR: II 188), പൊററാമര (RC), നാററുണി (four measures) TAS, III, p. 16, 1.53) കോറെറൻ[11] (US: II, 97).

---

1. n and l with k, c, p
2. " atra lakārachāyā nātiyuktā "
3. l 4. ṟ
5. n by l before k, p, c
6. pilkkālam̩, mulppāṭ, polppu
7. pontaṇṭam̩
8. l for n1.
9. l, n meet t
10 ṟṟ is produced as in kaṟṟaḷam̩ (kal+taḷam̩), poṟṟāmara (pon+tāmara)
11. naṟṟuṇa, mēṟṟaram̩, naṟṟavanē. poṟṟāmam̩, nāṟṟūṇi, kōṟen

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

The common Malayalam treatment of the meeting of -ല് with -ത്[1] is envisaged in III : 20.

III. 28

-ല് followed by -ന്, -ഞ്, -മ് changes to alveolar -ന് as in കന് -ഞെറി (കൽ+ഞെറി), വിന്നീളം (വിൽ+നീളം)[2].

This again reflects a Tamil rule which is preserved in modern Malayalam only in instances like നെൻമണി,നന്മ[3]. Even in Old Malayalam colloquial, the tendency to keep the meeting sounds unchanged had become prominet, as illustrated by inscriptional istances:- മേൽ നിൻറു[4] (TAS, III, p. 180 1.4).

III. 29.

This is a "പുറനടൈ സൂത്ര"[5] stating that "all other sandhi changes have to be inferred from പ്രയോഗ"[6]. (i) The illustrations envisagae the following types :-

(a) Adjectival compounds like പുതുച്ചൂത്, പുത്തരി, ചിറ്റോളം, കരിങ്കൂവള, കരുമുകിൽ, മുടന്തെങ്ങ്, കുറുങ്കോൽ, നെടുങ്കമക്, വന്മല, കൊടുമ്പാമ്പ്, പെരിന്തെരുവ്, പരുമ്പുടവ്[7]. Diffrent changes like the doubling of the penultimate plosive as in പുത്തരി and ചിറ്റോളം[8] and the cropping up of a nasal ആഗമ[9] are involved here.

All these are collectively referred to by Tolkapiyam, ചൊൽ in a final miscellaneous സൂത്ര 482; "പൺപുതൊകുമൊഴിയും.... മരുവിൻ പാത്തിയ... പുണരിയനിമൈയിടൈയുണരത്തോൻറാ" which involves the pharse "പൺപുതൊകുമൊഴി" explained as "പൺപുകൊൾപെയർ തൊക്ക ചൊൽ[10]"

---

1. l with t
2. l followed by n, ñ, m changes to alveolar n as in kan - ñeṟi (kal+ñeṟi), vinnīḷaṃ (vil + nīḷaṃ)
3. nenmaṇi, nanma 4. mēl ninṟu
5. puṟanaṭai sūtra
6. prayōga
7. putuccūt, puttari, ciṟṟōḷaṃ, kariṅkūvaḷa, karumukil, muṭanteṅṅ, kuṟuṅkōl, neṭuṅkamak, vanmala, koṭunpānp, perinteruv, parunpuṭav
8. puttari **and** ciṟṟōḷaṃ 9. āgama
10. col in a final miscellaneous sūtra 482 : "paṇputokumoẕiyuṃ... maruvin pāttiya... puṇariyanilaiyiṭai yuṇarattōnṟā" which involves the phrase paṇputokumoẕi explained as paṇpukoḷpeyartokkacol

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

(b) Numeral compounds like ഇരുപത് (cf. TE. 440) മൂവാറ് (cf. TE. 457), മുക്കുടം (cf.TE. 447) അയ്മ്പത്[1] (cf.TE. 443). പന്തിരണ്ട്[2] is foreign to literary Tamil which has only പന്നിരണ്ട് (TE. 435), പന്തിരു പലം, പന്തിരുനാഴി, പന്തിരടി[3] are also popular west coast forms (cf. TAS. II, p. 49, 1. 51) While forms like പതിററുപ്പത്ത്[4] are derived by commentaries from TE: 437, those like മുപ്പതിററടി[5] are peculiar to the west coast.

(c) The illustration കുററുവാണിയം[6] "trade in cattle" given in the വൃത്തി[7] involves the change of the മെൻറാടർ ന്റ് to the വൻറാടർ ററ്[8].

(d) In കുററുവാഴയ്ക്ക[9] the penultimate -റ് becomes "geminated" to -ററ[10] (cf.Rule III : 6).

(ii) The vritti further justified the componding of Malayalam and naturalized Sanskrit words (as in ചന്ദ്രക്കല with doubling of -ക്[11]) in conformity to the rules of Malayalam sandhi, provided the Sanskrit words are "ഭാഷീകൃതസംസ്കൃത"[12] words. The വൃത്തി[7] argues thet in ഇന്ദുകല there in no doubling of -ക് since ഇന്ദു[13] is not a "naturalised' word. Further it is pointed out that even Sanskrit -ശ and -സ്[14] could be doubled in componds, if they occur as initials of "ഭാഷീകൃത" words, as in ആനശ്ശാസ്ത്രം[15] etc. because Sanskrit sounds like these occurred in adaptation from Sanskrit sound like ഉപവാസം, സരസൻ, ദീക്ഷ, ദൈവം, ശംഖ്, പൂജ[16], current in the conversational language of the savarna castes.

---

1. irupat, mūvāṟ, mukkuṭaṃ, aynpat
2. pantiraṇṭ
3. panniraṇṭ, pantirupalaṃ, pantirunāḷi, pantīraṭi
4. patiṟṟuppatt
5. muppatiṟṟaṭi
6. kaṟṟuvaṇīyaṃ
7. vṛtti
8. menṟoṭar nṟ to the vanṟoṭar ṟṟ
9. kūṟṟuvāẓaykka
10. ṟ became geminated to ṟṟ
11. candrakkala with doubling of k
12. bhāṣīkṛtasaṃskṛta
13. indukala there is nodoubling of k since indu
14. śa and s
15, bhāṣīkṛta words as in ānaśśāstraṃ
16. upavāsaṃ, sarasan, dīkṣa, daivaṃ, śaṅkh, pūja

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

While ചന്ദ്രക്കല, ആനശ്ശാസ്ത്രം, പെരികസ്സാരം[1] are admissible, instances like ഇന്ദോർനിറം, ദ്വേഷ്യാശ്ചിലർ, രമ്യാശ്ചിലർ, ചൊല്ലിനാം സൂത്ര, നതാംഗ്യാസൂറുതറവന്ന്[2] should be strictly avoided. Where Sanskrit words meet, Sanskrit rules should, of course be followed.

Conclusion

The grammatical outlook of Lilatilakam is marked by three features:-

A. Recognition of the independence of the west coast speech.

B. Respect for tradition.

C. Insight into linguistic phenomena and precesses.

A

The recognition of the individuality of Malayalam is brought out through the prescrption of special rules or the demarcation of distinctive featrures.

1) The commentary on the first sutra of the first silpa stresses the following diffrences between Malayalam and Tamil:-

i) Malayalam അ - Tamil ഐ[3]

ii) Malayalam medial അ- - Tamil ഐ[4]

iii) Malayalam accustive എ - Tamil ഐ[5]

iv) Absence of അയ്തം[6] in Malayalam

v) Nasal assimilation in Malayalam.

vi) Malayalam ഞ് of ഞാൻ[7].

vii) Malayalam ആണ്ട് etc. - Tamil യാണ്ട്[8] etc.

---

1. candrakkala, ānaśśāstram̟, perikassāram̟
2. indōrnir̲am̟, dvēṣyāścilar, ramyāścilar, colli nām̟sūtra, natāṅgyāsūr̲utar̲avann
3. Malayalam a - Tamil ai4
4. Malayalam a - Tamil ai
5. Malayalam e - Tamil ai
6. ayitam̟
7. Malayalam ñ of ñān
8. Malayalam āṇṭ - Tamil yāṇṭ

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

viii) Malayalam പേർ - Tamil പെയർ[1]

ix) Malayalam ഇതൾ - Tamil ഇതഴ്[2]

x) Malayalam augment ഇന് Tamil -അന് in അതന്, ഇതന്[3]

xi)Malayalam (ന്) -റെ or (ഇന്) -റെ Tam.ഉടൈ[4]

xii) Comparisonal -കാൾ Tamil കാട്ടിൽ[5]

xiii) Absence of -കൺ[6] in Malayalam.

xiv) Malayalam locatival -കൽ - Tamil കാൽ[7]

xiv) Malayalam -ഇലേ[8]

xv) Absence of some Tamil vocative types in Malayalam.

xvii) Absence of -ചാരിയൈ[9] in verb-forms of Mal.

xviii) Malayalam -ഉണ്മർ Tamil -ഉൺപർ[10]

xix) Malayalam -കൂവി Tamil -കൂയിററു[11]

xx) Malayalm verbal finitites without personal endings.

xxi) സംസ്കൃതരൂപ words and ഭാഷീകൃതസംസ്കൃത words -Tamil ആരിയച്ചിതൈവു[12]

2) The stress on the മണിപ്രവാള[13] genre being the unique property of കേരള[14] in view of its development on the west coast, shown by its ലക്ഷണ[15] in Lilatilakam.

---

1. Malayalam pēr - Tamil peyar
2. Malayalam itaḷ - Tamil itaẕ
3. Malayalam in - Tamil an in atan - itan
4. Malayalam n, ṟe or in ṟe Tamil uṭai
5. kāḷ, Tamil kāṭṭil
6. kaṇ
7. Malayalam kal, Tamil kāl
8. Malayalam ilē
9. cāriyai
10. Malayalam uṇmar, Tamil uṇpar
11. Malayalamkūvi, Tamil kūyiṟṟu
12. saṃskṛtarūpa words and bhāṣīkṛtasaṃskṛta words, Tamil āriyaccitaivu
13. maṇipravāḷa
14. kēraḷa
15. lakṣaṇa

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

3) The refernce to ശുദ്ധദേശി[1] forms of the west coast, like കൊച്ച് and ഞൊടി[2].

4) The prescription of special rules in the third Silpa for Malayalam developments:- Mal.short intervocal -വ് in -അവിടെ,-അവാറ്[3] etc. Malayalam compounds and sequences like -കളന്നെൽ and വര വേണ്ടുന്നെൽ[4] the incorporation of the enunciative in instances like -തേവ് കല്ല്, -തോല് നൻറ് and -കല്ല് നാല്[5]

5) The demarcation of Malayalam specialities like the absence of final -ഐ and -ഔ[6] and of final ഞ് and ൽ[7] in Malayalam; മറുവ്, വടുവ്[8] as Malayalam developments; the juction of -ഴ്, and ൽ[9] producing -ണ് as in വാണാൾ[10] the absence in Malayalam of Tamil സന്ധി[11] changes, as in -മട്പാനൈ[12] the use of Sanskrit sounds by the ത്രൈവർണ്ണിക[13] of Kerala.

6) The framing and sequence of some of the sutras of the third silpa envisage Malayalam devolopments:- the inresasing frequency of -യ്[14] as an intervocal glide in Malayalam, through the prescription of -യ്[14] in a സാമാന്യവിധി[15] in the first sutra of the silpa; a similar സാമാന്യ വിധി[15] in III, 7 prescribing mere സംശ്ലേഷ[16] when vowels meet cosonants; and the prescription of doubling of plosives after -ല്[17] in Rule 20 and of the traditional change of -ല് to -റ്[18] through Rule 26.

---

1. śuddhadēśī
2. kocc, ñoṭi
3. v in aviṭe, avāṟ
4. kaḷanneḷ and ṟyūravēṇṭunnel
5. tēv kall, tōlnanṟ and kall nāl
6. ai and au
7. ñ and n
8. maṟuv, vaṭuv
9. ẕand l
10. ṇ as in vāṇāḷ
11. sandhi
12. maṭpānai
13. traivarṇṇikaṭa
14. y
15. sāmānyavidhi
16. saṃślēṣa
17. l
18. l to ṟ

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

B

Respect for tradition in evident in the following:

1. Recognition of the closeness of the affinities of the west coast and the east coast dialects, through the application of the word ദ്രമിഡ or തമിഴ്[1] to the Tamil - Malayalam group.

2. The definition of the പാട്ട്[2] genre of Malayalam.

3. The condemnation of the vocative-type: നരേന്ദ്രനേ[3].

4. The sanction accorded to verbal finites with personal endings, like വന്നേം, വന്നോം, കാണിൻറീർ, പോയിനാ[4] which had disappeared from the colloquials of the period.

5. The inclusion of -വ്[5] as an absolute final in the list of absolute final sounds in the വൃത്തി[6] on III, 4, even though forms with -വ്[5] finals had disappeared from both Tamil and Malayalm colloquials.

6. The use of തൊൽകാപ്പിയം[7] as a yard-stick to messure the acceptability or " legitimacy' of forms like മറുവ്, വാണാൾ[8].

7. The condemmation of the form രണ്ട്[9] in III. 7.

8. The disapproval of "ലകാരഛായാ"[10] in III. 26

C

Lilatilakam shows remarkable insight into linguistic processes in the discussion of topics like the following:

1. The rejection of the argument that seeks to connect every രൂഢ[11] words of Malayalm with some Sanskrit form or other.

2. The analysis of unique Tamil-Malayalm sounds in II, 7 and particulary, of the phonemic diffrences between -ര് and -റ്[12] and between dental -ന് and aleolar -ന്[13]

---

1. dramiḍa or tamiẕ
2. pāṭṭ
3. narēndranē
4. vannēṃ, vannōṃ, kāṇinṟīr, pōyinā
5. v
6. vṛtti
7. tolkāppiyaṃ
8. maṟuv, vāṇāḷ
9. ranṭ
10. " lakārachāyā "
11. rūḍha
12. r **and** ṟ
13. n **and** n

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

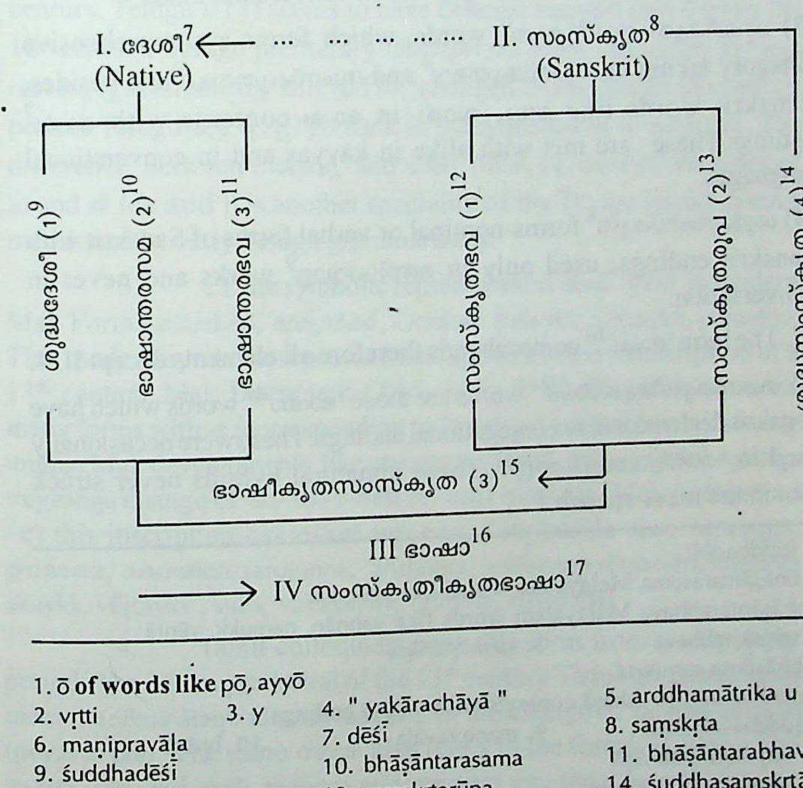
3. The explanation for the shortening of final -ഓ of words like പോ, അയ്യോ[1] in the വൃത്തി[2] on III, 1.

4. The recognition of the glide character of -യ്[3] through the comparison of the sound to Prakrit "യകാര ഛായാ"[4]

5.The intimate analysis of what is called അർദ്ധമാത്രിക-ഉ്[5]in the വൃത്തി[2] on III, 5.

6. The classification of the elements of the vocabulary of മണിപ്രവാള[6] which may be graphically representd by the following diagram.

(The dotted line indicates the view of Lilatilakam that Desi elements should ultimately have had a Sanskrit origin, though the relationship is not at present traceable)



---

1. ō **of words like** pō, ayyō
2. vṛtti
3. y
4. " yakārachāyā "
5. arddhamātrika u
6. maṇipravāḷa
7. dēśī
8. saṃskṛta
9. śuddhadēśī
10. bhāṣāntarasama
11. bhāṣāntarabhava
12. saṃskṛtabhava
13. saṃskṛtarūpa
14. śuddhasaṃskṛtā
15. bhāṣīkṛtasaṃskṛta
16. bhāṣā
17. saṃskṛtīkṛtabhāṣā

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

1) (i) ശുദ്ധദേശി[1] :- Malayalam words which cannot easily be connected with the forms of other speeches.

(2) ഭാഷാന്തരസമ Malayalam words like പൊൻ, കൽ[2] which are identical in strucrure with words of other speeches.

(3) ഭാഷാന്തരഭവ Malayalam words or foms like വന്നാൽ, നമുക്ക്, വേണ്ടാ[3], which (though, showing structural diffrences) can be recognised as cognates with forms of other speeches.

II (i) സംസ്കൃതഭവ[4]- Adaptations (tadbhavas) from Sanskrit, showing considerable structural changes which, however, are not so radical as to obscure the relationship of these to their originals.

(2) സംസ്കൃതരൂപ[5] - Sanskrit words (tatsamas) with slight structural modifications in the endings intoduced in the process of adaptation in Malayalam, current in the kavyas and in converstion alike.

(3) ഭാഷീകൃത സംസ്കൃത[6] words, which forms a comprehensive category taking in സംസ്കൃതഭവ[4] and സംസ്കൃതരൂപ[5] and besides, Sanskrit words like മധു, വാരി in ഭാഷ contexts with ഭാഷ[7] endings.These are met with alike in kavyas and in converstional languages.

(4) ശുദ്ധസംസ്കൃത[8] forms-nominal or verbal forms of Sanskrit with Sanskrit endings, used only in മണിപ്രവാള[9] works and never in conversation.

III. The term 'ഭാഷ'[10] comprehends therefore all elements except II. 4.

IV. സംസ്കൃതീകൃതഭാഷ[11] words are those 'ഭാഷാ'[10] words which have Sanskrit declensional or conjugational endings. These were occasionally used in മണിപ്രവാളകാവ്യ.[12] These unnatural hybrids never struck root in the mass-speech.

---

1. śuddhadēśi
2. bhāṣāntarasama Malayalam words like pon, kal
3.bhāṣāntarabhava Malayalam words like vannān, namukk, vēṇṭā
4. saṃskṛtabhava
5. saṃskṛtarūpa
6. bhāṣīkṛta saṃskṛta
7. madhu, vāri in bhāṣā contexts with bhāṣā endings
8. śuddhasaṃskṛta
9. maṇipravāḷa
10. bhāṣā
11. saṃskṛtīkṛtabhāṣā
12. maṇipravāḷakāvyaṭa

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

Foot Notes

*1. The Grammar നന്നൂൽ speaks of the 12 കൊടുന്തമിഴ് regions and besides ഒൻപതിററി രണ്ടിനിററമിഴൊഴിനിലം (the grammar nannūl speaks of the twelve koṭuntamiẕ regions and besides onpatiṟṟi ranṭiniṟāmiẕoẕinila (the 18 lands from which Tamil has to be excluded).

*2. Kannada had ഴ് (ẕa)which fell into disuse by about the 11th century, having suffered different changes. Kannada റ്(ṟ)merged into ര് (r) by about the 16th century. Telugu pre-literary inscriptions show ര് (r) which changed to other sounds perhaps before the 11th century. Telugu റ് (ṟ) seems to have become merged into ര് (r) by the 16th century. Telugu preliterary inscriptions show ൻറ് (nṟ)as in "ഴച്ചു വാൻറു'(ẕaccuvānṟu),' this ൻറ് (nṟ)changed to ണ്ട് (ṇṭa) in the literary period. Telugu ട്,ട്ട് (ṭ, ṭṭ) go back in many instances to ററ് (ṟṟa). The difference between താലവ്യ and ദന്ത്യ (tālavya, dantya) varieties of ച and ജ് (ca **and** j) is another speciality of the Telugu sound-system mentioned by early Telugu grammarians).

*3. Cf. the symbolic representation യ്ക്ക് (ykk) in modern Mal. Forms തലയ്ക്ക്, വേട്ടയ്ക്ക്, പറയ്ക്ക് (talaykk, vēṭṭaykk, paṟaykk). This mode of symbolic representation appears in the transcription of a 13th century Mal. Document (TAS, iv 1. P. 87 ff) which contains many forms with -a (corresponding to Tamil–ai) and instances showing unique Mal. developments like അരുളുന്ന (Tamil അരുളുകിൻറ) മൂലവും സൂത്രവും change of -m- to -v-before -um) നമ്പിയെ (Mal. Accusative –e) this inscription has വകയ്ക്കു, വേട്ടയ്ക്കു beside വക, വകകളും, ഊരാണ്മ, കോയിമ്മ. (aruḷunna, aruḷainṟa, mūlavuṃ sūtravuṃ, nanpiye akaykk, vēṭṭaykk , vaka, vakakaḷuṃ, ūrāṇma, kōyimma)

*4. Tamil colloquials have this form from a very early period. The 35th സൂത്ര (sūtra) of the 13th century Tamil grammar നേമി നാതം (nēminātaṃ) already adverts to the change of പെയർ to പേർ (peyar to pēr) . The same സൂത്ര also refers to the forms പൊഴുതു and പോത്, ഒടു and ഓട്, യാനൈ and ആനൈ etc. (poẕutu, pot, oṭu, ōṭ, yānai , ānai)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

*5. Is There any special reason why the commentary should have singled out the malayalam words ആന, ആട്, നാളെ, അല്ല, ഇല്ല as കർണ്ണാടക ഭാഷാസദൃശ? (āna, āṭ, nāḷe, alla, illa as karṇṇāṭa bhāṣāsadṛśa). Do these malayalam words show any nearer correspondents to their Kannada counterparts than to Tamil once? I think that Lilathilakam may possibly have remembered here that these Malayalam words have a some what greater structrual nearness to Kannada ആനെ, ആടു, നാളെ, അല്ല (āne, āṭu, nāḷe, alla) (used for all persons and genders) and ഇല്ല (illa), than to literary Tamil യാനൈ, യാട്, നാളൈ, അല്ല (yānai, yāṭ, nāḷai, alla) (this last used only for third person non rational plural) and ഇല്ലൈ (illai) . But when it is considered that already from and early period, Tamil colloquials had forms like ആനെ, ആടു, നാളെ, അല്ല (āne, āṭu, nāḷe, alla) (this last for all genders, persons and numbers) and ഇല്ലെ (ille)(and pre literary Kannada also had ഇല്ലെ (ille), the so-called structural nearness to Kannada losses its point.

*6. കാട് and കുതിര (kāṭ, kutira) are included in this list of സംസ്കൃതഭവ (saṃskṛtabhava) words. The modern student would ofcourse regard them as native forms are included in this list of words

*7. As for the classification of lexical elements in the older grammars of Kannada. it may be noted that the 13th century ശബ്ദമണിദർപണ (śabdamaṇi darpaṇa) marks off the following categories: (i) ദേശീയ or അച്ചഗന്നഡ words; (ii) സമസംസ്കൃത which are സംസ്കൃതപ്രകൃതി (dēśīya, accagannaḍa, samasaṃskṛta, saṃskṛta prakṛti) that may underge changes in the terminal protions of bases; iii) തത്ഭവ (tatbhava) evidencing changes in th bases themselves, and (iv) twenty-one words called തത്സമ (tatsama) said to be identitical in sanskrit and Kannada. No particular mention is made of prakritic elements. As for Thelugu, ആന്ധ്ര ശബ്ദചിന്താമണി (āndhra śabda cintāmaṇi) device the word stock of Thelugu into four classes (in സൂത്ര 16 of the സംജ്ഞാപരിച്ഛേദ-തജ്ജ (sūtra sañjñāparicchēda tajja) those derived with changes from Sanskrit and prakrit); (II) സമ or തുല്യ (sama **or** tulya)(those which resemble Sanskrit and prakrit words in their bases though not in th endings; (III) ദേശ്യ (dēśya) (Those current as രൂഢ (rūḍha) words in common usage); and (IV) ഗ്രാമ്യ (grāmya) (Illiteracies not governed

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

by rules) To this list അഥർവ്വണം ചാര്യ (atharvvaṇañcārya) (in his വികൃതിവിവേക (vikṛtivivēka)) adds another class which he calls അന്യ ദേശീയ ("അഹേച അന്യദേശീയം യത്വദേവ പ്രയുജ്യതേ") (anyadēśīya ahējaanyadēśīyaṃ yattadēva prayujyatē).

*8. The Kannada grammer ശബ്ദമണിദർപ്പണ (śabdamaṇidarpaṇa) uses these terms in the sutra trating about the force of the second case ending. It also refers to കാലാ and അധ്വൻ (kāla, adhvan) in Kannada as being expressed in the second case.

*9. The seventheenth century പ്രയോഗവിവേകം (prayōgavivēkaṃ) (very much influenced by Sankrit in its outlook and treatment)includes കു (ku) in the list if sixth case ending in the sutra., but obseves in the commentary that കു (ku) has the meaning of a ഷഷ്ഠിപ്രത്യയ (ṣaṣṭhipratyaya) and confers the force of the sixth case. In a later context, however, it advertes to കു (ku) as the sixth case ending itself. Yhis collocation with a sixth case relationship cannot be justified by the same Tolkappiyam sutra that covers instances like നമ്പിക്കുമകൻ (nanpikku makan) where ഉയിർതിണൈ (uyartiṇai) nouns are qualified by the sixth case form.

*10. For the shortening of the vowel one may compare Malayalam ഒരിക്കൽ (ones). Old Malayalam ഒരിക്കാൽ (Tamil ഒരു ക്കാൽ) appearing in R C.13 and ഒരുക്കൽ (orikkal, orikkāl(Tamil orukkāl), orukkalin) TAS, VII P.113.

*11. കാണ്മർ is a participial noun like ഉണ്മർ and തിണ്മർ (as in പരിപാടൽ for instance (kāṇmar 2. uṇmar and tinmar, paripāṭal).

*12. The published text prints these instances as കളവർ and വരുവർ (kaḷavar, varuvar). which are verb -forms, with which this sutra is not concerned.

*13. The Type ചെയ്വിതു, ചെയ്തിതു (with ഇ (ceyvitu, ceytitu (with i)) are equally old in Malayalam, occurring as they do in very old west coast incsriptions. (Tamil colloquials had forms with ഇ; cf the partioipials ഉൺപിതു, ഉറങ്കുവിതു (uṇpitu uṟaṅkuvitu) with penultimate ഇ instead of അ, mentioned by Viracoliyam. There is no justification for the view that forms with ഉതു(utu) ware earlier than those with ഇതു (ithu).

*14. Cf. also Telugu രണ്ടു, Gondi രണ്ട്, but Brahui has ഇരട് , kann. എരഡു, Karukh ഇർബ (raṇṭu, raṇṭ, iraṭ, eraḍu, irb)

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

*15 The two examples cited in the vrtti here: മണ്ടീതു and കണ്ടീതു (maṇṭītu and kaṇṭītu) are usually cited by Tamil grammars as illustrating the change in nominative - predicate sequences. Nowhere on Old Malayalam texts or inscriptions have i come acress instanees of a nominative-predicate sequences with this sandhi change.

*16. The example മുണ്ണൻറ് (muṇṇanṟ) cited in the vrtti to III, 15 and 16, is an instance, usually given in Tamil grammars, of a nominative-predicate sequence evidencing the change of ള്+ന് =ണ്ണ് (ḷ + n = ṇṇ) aside from Lilatilakam. I have not come across any Malayalam nominative predicate sequence containg this sandhi change. The citation of instances usually given in Tamil grammar and the prescription of some peculiary Tamil changes, reveal a certain bias on the part of Lilatilakam in favour of the literary Tamil rules of Sandhi.

*17. The change of ന് to റ് (n **to** ṟ) in the meeting of -ന് with -ക് in a form like -ഇതറ്ക് (n **with** k **in a form like** itaṟk) (verse 302 of RC) is probably an imitation of old Tamil usage, since 'ഇതറ്ക്' (itaṟk) never took root in Malayalam. ഇതിൻക്, ഇതിനുക്ക്, ഇതിന്, ഇതിന്ന് (itink, itinukk, itin, itinn) being its old Malayalam reprsentatives. Again RC has തെൻറിശ. (134 (തെൻ 'south' + തിശ (tenṟiśa (ten + tiśa) 'direction') with the change of ത് (ദ്) to റ് (t, d **to** ṟ). This also may be an imitaion of Tamil usage.This literary change may however be, conceivably justified by Lilatilakm III, 27, commentary.Gundert quotes (p.19 of this Grammar) from his manuscript copy of RC the following nstance containging the Tamil sandhi change of ള്+ത് -ട് (ḷ + t = ṭ)(after ›ng vowels, an in Old Malayalam നീടാർ (nīṭār) or after polysyllabics) (രയ്യനടിക ടിരുവടി (അയ്യനടികൾ+തിരുവടി) (ayyanaṭikaṭiruvaṭi (ayyanaṭikaḷ + tiruvaṭi). This from occures in TAS, II, p. 67. 1. 3 beside അയ്യനടികൾ തിരുവടി (ayyanaṭikaḷtiruvaṭi) (p. 81, 1 26) without the സന്ധി (sandhi) change. But this is not provieded for in **līlātilakaṃ**.

*****

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

CC-0. In Public Domain. Digitization by eGangotri

പ്രകാശനവിഭാഗം
കേരള സർവകലാശാല